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A HISTORY OF PAINTING IN ITALY

BY J. A. CROWE & G. B. CAVALCASELLE

VOL. VI

SIENESE AND FLORENTINE MASTERS OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY



Alinari, Florence

The Virgin and Child with Saints

by Fra Bartolommeo

From a fresco in the Cathedral at Lucca

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A HISTORY OF PAINTING IN ITALY

UMBRIA FLORENCE AND SIENA FROM THE SECOND TO THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY BY J. A. CROWE & G. B. CAVALCASELLE

VOLS. I.–IV. EDITED BY LANGTON DOUGLAS
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NOTE.

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SIENESE AND FLORENTINE MASTERS OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

CHAPTER I

FUNGAI, PACCHIAROTTI AND PACCHIA, PERUZZI

IN considering the last phase of development in the Sienese school, nothing is more remarkable than its assimilation of varied foreign elements. After clinging to old and almost ineradicable habits nearly to the close of the fifteenth century, painters who had lost all power of self-regeneration gradually took lessons from the Florentine, the Umbrian, and the Lombard, either by coming into contact with men of those countries at Siena, or by studying them abroad. Whilst Signorelli, Pinturicchio, Perugino, and Bazzi contributed to this alteration by practising in Siena, the Florentines of the following of Andrea del Sarto, Raphael, and Michael Angelo, extended their influence in the same quarter by the force, the number, and the importance of the works with which they filled the cities of Italy. Still, though tacitly admitting the superiority of men whom they admired, the Sienese never lost entirely the stamp of their nationality, nor succeeded in discarding their Italo-Byzantine manner.

Bernardino Fungai so completely inherited the style of his master Benvenuto di Giovanni that a fresco of the Assumption in the Oratory of S. Sebastiano near Asciano might be assigned with equal propriety to either.[1] But before his death, in 1516, Fungai transferred his specific traits to Giacomo di Bartolommeo Pacchiarotti,[2] whose art, in its expansion, was at one time hard to

[1] See *antea*, Benvenuto di Giovanni. The fresco is given to Fungai by GAET. MILANESI (com. VASARI, vi. 416).

[2] The commentator above cited states, without proofs, though positively, that Fungai died in 1516, aged fifty-six (com. VASARI, vi. 416).

distinguish from that of Girolamo del Pacchia. Pictorial history soon forgot Fungai, of whom it preserved little more than tradition; but it confounded Giacomo with Girolamo, so that the latter ceased altogether to exist; and the praise which he had received from Vasari was supposed to apply to Pacchiarotti.[1] The research of Gaetano Milanesi disentangled the lives of the two men. Their pictures and those of Fungai still require a vigorous sifting.

Guide-books give note of many productions by Fungai, which are preserved in churches and museums; nor is there any difficulty in conceding that they are all by one artist, since they are alike on the spectral model of Matteo da Siena or Benvenuto di Giovanni, and slightly tinged with an imitation of Pinturicchio. They are all feebly and confusedly composed, ill drawn, dull in colour, unrelieved, and generally lifeless. The figures are unnatural and incorrect in movement, dressed in broken and angular drapery, exaggerated in length, and perfectly rigid. Amongst the creations of his earlier period, one to which the date of 1500 has been given in books exhibits the peculiarities we have enumerated, coupled with great splendour of gilding and primary colour. It represents the Coronation at S. Maria de' Servi, or the SS. Concezione, of Siena.[2] Better proportioned, but of the same stamp are the Virgin, Child, and saints in the Academy, but of old in the choir of the Carmine at Siena, a Fungai of 1512;[3] but more characteristic pieces are the Coronation in the church of the

[1] VASARI speaks of Pacchia in the Life of Giovannantonio Bazzi (vi. 391). He is confounded with Pacchiarotti by DELLA VALLE and all the Sienese chroniclers before him (see *Lett. san.*, iii. 317 and following). RUMOHR gives to Pacchiarotti things, the character of which is that of Fungai (*Forschungen*, ii. 212), and suggests the possibility of assistance given by him to Pinturicchio at the Piccolomini Library (iii. 45). PASSAVANT (*Raphael*, i. 389) evidently alludes to pictures by Pacchia when speaking of Pacchiarotti.

[2] Assigned to Fungai in TAIA'S and FALUSCHI'S *Guides* (*u.s.*). The date is given by MILANESI (com. VASARI, vi. 416). The figures are life-size, on panel, a caricature of those of Matteo. The angels are reminiscent of Pinturicchio, the Virgin and Christ also somewhat Umbrian.

[3] Siena Academy, No. 431. Wood. Signed: "OPVS BERNARDINI FONGARII DE SENIS, 1512." The date is given by MILANESI (*ib.*, *ib.*) and by DELLA VALLE (*Lett. san.*, iii. 381). The colour is dry and of a dull, low key. The saints are Sebastian standing and Jerome kneeling to the left, a standing friar and St. Nicholas kneeling to the right; the hat of St. Jerome and the staff of St. Nicholas held by children in front of the throne.



Photo, Alinari

THE VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH SAINTS

Madonna di Fontegiusta,[1] a predella to a Nativity by (?) Francesco di Giorgio in S. Domenico,[2] and the Assumption in the Academy of Siena. Without any change in its arrangement from the time-honoured one of the Sienese, the latter displays some Umbrian and Florentine peculiarities in the round and regular shape of the heads.[3] The five subjects of the predella are distributed in Pinturicchio's fashion; and appear more spirited than usual, because they are of a smaller size. They may be due in part to the assistance afforded to Fungai by Pacchiarotti,[4] who would thus claim a share in divers panels of the same class,—a predella with five half-lengths of saints in the Sienese Academy,[5] a Madonna with St. Catherine and other saints in the church of the Compagnia di S. Catarina at Siena,[6] a Nativity in the cathedral of Chiusi,[7] and a Madonna amongst saints in the church of Buonconvento.[8]

[1] Beneath the Coronation, SS. John the Baptist and Jerome kneeling, Roch and another erect, and children with flowers in a landscape. The picture is all points and angles (wood).

[2] This predella comprises a Martyrdom of St. Sebastian, a Massacre of the Innocents, and figures of saints. The lunette of this composite work is by Matteo. See *antea*, Matteo and Francesco di Giorgio.

[3] No. 441, Siena Academy (wood). The Virgin is taken up as usual to the Eternal, who is surrounded by saints and patriarchs. Below, about the tomb, the kneeling SS. Francis, Bernardino, and John Evangelist.

[4] No. 412. Comprising St. Michael, St. Catherine clothing a Beggar, the Marriage of Cana, the Epiphany, the Call of Peter and Andrew, St. Catherine of Alexandria, Tobit and the angel.

[5] No. 366, Siena Academy. In the same style—No. 376: Virgin, Child, SS. Jerome and the Beato Colombino (half-length). No. 363: Virgin giving the breast to the Infant, an angel and St. Jerome. No. 374: Virgin adoring the Child on her knee with SS. Mary Magdalen and Anthony the Abbot in rear (half-length).

[6] The Virgin and Child are in majesty amongst angels and female saints (reminiscent of Pinturicchio); St. Catherine in prayer to the left, at the Virgin's feet; in side panels, St. Anthony and another saint. Three upper panels of the altar are of the seventeenth century. In the predella, three scenes from the life of St. Catherine, figures of brethren, of Jerome, and other saints (wood, oil), injured, dirty, and hard; the influence of Pinturicchio very sensible.

[7] In the pilasters, the Angel and Virgin Annunciate, SS. Lawrence, Catherine, Sebastian, and Chiara. In the predella, four scenes from the lives of the saints, Umbrian in character; exhibited in the capella del Sacramento.

[8] Five arched compartments: Virgin and Child, SS. John the Baptist, Peter, Paul, and Sebastian (naked). In the spandrils, heads of cherubs (figures life-size, wood). [* This picture, which is reproduced in the *Rassegna d'arte*, iv. 152, may be confidently assigned to Pacchiarotti, and shows, as pointed out by Mr, PERKINS (*ibid.*, p. 151), the strong influence of Matteo da Siena.] Similar works,

Fungai sometimes assumes the types and affectation of Perugino, as may be seen in the example exhibited in 1865 at the British Institution under his name,[1] and in the Madonna falsely ascribed to Vivarini at the Victoria and Albert Museum.[2] His more usual garb is that with which he appears in the Virgin and Child catalogued as by Alunno in the collection of Count Paul Stroganoff at St. Petersburg.[3] His best and perhaps latest performance is a Christ between SS. Francis and Jerome, the lunette of an altarpiece by Pacchiarotti in the Academy of Siena.[4] The difference between the lunette and the Madonna with saints below it is not so striking

an Assumption, in S. Sebastiano at Buonconvento, with six scenes from the life of the Virgin, in the predella, the latter like Matteo's Creation; Virgin and Child between SS. John and Mary Magdalen (wood, gold ground), in the Conservatorio di S. Maria Maddalena at Siena; Virgin and Child, St. Jerome, and another saint, in the same place. [* The two last-mentioned pictures are now in the Academy of Siena (Nos. 375 and 388).]

[1] Round of the Virgin and Child (No. 70, Exhibition of 1865), with six heads of winged cherubs fluttering round her head (wood, half life-size). Various episodes are in the distant landscape. The low key of Fungai's tone has been further dimmed by time. [* This picture is now in the National Gallery (No. 1,331).]

[2] From the Solages collection (half-length, on gold ground, the Child erect, in benediction, on the Virgin's lap, and a saint at each side (wood, half life-size). The tempera is altered by restoring. [* Now on loan to the National Gallery.]

[3] The Child holds the orb and a bird fast to a string (wood, gold ground). He stands on a cushion, on a parapet, before the half-length of the Virgin; somewhat restored, but not without feeling considering its authorship.

[4] No. 424, Academy of Siena. Virgin enthroned between SS. Onofrio and Bartolommeo (wood). We may note, in passing, as a painter of the rise of the sixteenth century at Siena, a half Umbrian Sienese of a low class, whose Nativity (No. 279 in the Academy of Siena, inscribed: "Opus Petri Dominici de Senis M. CCCC. . . .") is a weak, rosy-coloured picture, of careful but flat treatment. To him may be given the Nativity (No. 390) in the same collection, and a Virgin, Child, and saints (No. 397). [* A Virgin and Child with two saints in the collection of the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, should also be added to the number of his works.]

Andrea di Niccolò's works are a caricature of the foregoing, as, *e.g.*, a Crucifixion (No. 368) in the Siena Academy. There are notices of his existence between 1477 and 1509 at Siena, in *Doc. sen.*, ii. 425, and iii. 5, 40, and 296. [* A signed work by this painter is a Virgin and Child with four saints, inscribed: "Pinxit Andrea Nichole Senensis A. D. MCCCCC ad Novembris," in the Siena Gallery (No. 298). Other paintings by him are a Nativity in the same gallery (No. 365); a Virgin and Child with saints belonging in 1904 to Sig. Sestilio Barni of Siena; a Virgin and Child with saints in the Compagnia dei SS. Crispino e Crispiniano of Siena (dated 1510), etc. For further notices of Andrea, see DE NICOLA, in THIEME and BECKER, *Allgemeines Lexikon*, i. 461.]

but that both may have been done in the same atelier. They are similar; but the drawing of the first is harder, the colour more sombre than that of the second, which reveals a better design, more form in drapery, a truer feeling for colour, and greater animation—improvements traceable in pictures to which, from the oldest time, the name of Pacchiarotti has been attached.[1]

It is one of the remarkable circumstances connected with Pacchiarotti that we know much more of his private life than of his works. He was born in 1474 at Siena,[2] and fills a broad page in the history of the troubles for which his native city was so famous in the sixteenth century; and a long list has been made of pieces that have perished, commissioned of him when habitual love of disorder and sauntering did not bring him into mischief either as a soldier defending himself against external foes, or as a member of a lawless brotherhood which made the streets of Siena unsafe by day as well as by night.[3] There is a most amusing

* 1 The following works by Fungai may still be noticed:

Brunswick. Vieweg Collection. The Virgin and Child (see HARCK, in *Archivio storico dell' arte*, ser. i., vol. iii., p. 171).

Lucignano (Val di Chiana) S. Francesco, choir. St. Francis receiving the stigmata (lunette of altarpiece; see PERKINS, in *Rassegna d' arte senese*, iii. 81).

New York. Mr. G. Blumenthal. The Virgin and Child with two angels (see PERKINS, in *Rassegna d' arte*, xiii. 126, with reproduction).

Paris. Rothschild Collection. Cassone front with mythological subject (story of Hippo ?) (*ib.*). *Sale at the Hôtel Drouot*, April 21, 1910, No. 41. The Virgin and Child with two saints (as a Matteo di Giovanni).

Siena. Archivio di Stato. Tavoletta di gabella. Abraham's Sacrifice (1485; LISINI, *Le tavolette dipinte*, pl. xlviii.). *Tavoletta di gabella.* The Virgin guiding a Ship to a Port (1487; *ib.*, pl. xlix.). *S. Girolamo, Cloister.* The Assumption. *Istituto dei Sordomuti (ex Convento di S. Margherita). Old Refectory.* The Last Supper; The Agony in the Garden; The Capture of Christ; the Crucifixion (frescoes).

S. Maria dei Servi, second altar to the left. The Magdalen; St. Joseph.

2 Register of Baptisms. MILANESI in com. VASARI, vi. 416.

3 1502: He takes part in an insurrection after the departure of Pandolfo Petrucci. 1503: Makes flags for the Duomo, models two heads of Emperors for the same place, and paints pennons on the enthronement of Pius III. 1505: Is captain of the Division of Stalloreggi di Fuori. Marries (November 8) Girolama di Ser Alessandro Martini; is agent to Pietro d'Andrea of Rome. 1507: Pennons. 1507 and 1509: Birth of two daughters. 1509: Decorates the chapel of Andrea Piccolomini in the church of S. Francesco. 1510: Appraises works in the Vieri chapel of the same church, and Perugino's altarpiece there. 1511: Inherits his father's property. 1512: Pennons for the funeral of P. Petrucci. 1513: Appraises the work of Bartolommeo di David in the chapel of the Madonna del Manto in the

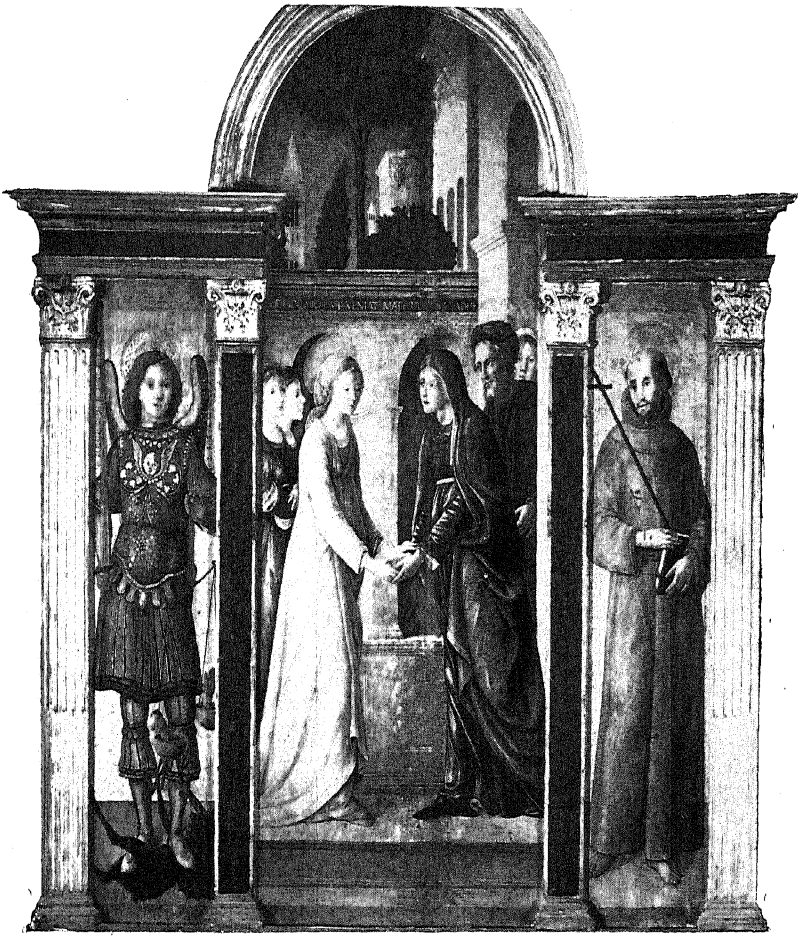
account in chronicles of his flight from justice in 1535, and his concealment in a tomb, where he spent forty-eight hours in terror of his life and a prey to evil smells and vermin. He was outlawed, and restored to civil rights again, and had the luck, which he hardly deserved, of dying in his bed (*circa* 1540) at his own place of Viteccio. But all that remains to illustrate his art is an Ascension at the Academy of Siena, once in the Chiesa dell' Osservanza,[1] a Visitation in the same gallery, removed from the church of Campiglia d'Orcia,[2] another in the Academy of Arts at Florence.[3] There is little to distinguish the first of these compositions from the usual one of the old period. The well-known want of compactness in arrangement and of simplicity in movements in the Sienese are as conspicuous as the bony dryness of the forms, and the affectation resulting from an attempt to realize immediate decisive action. A light and washy colour helps to give the picture an impress easily recognized in the Visitations at Siena and

Spedale of Siena. Ditto: The Trinity in the Spedale by Beccafumi, and paints the banner of the company of the Beato A. Gallerani. 1514: Finishes the Piccolomini chapel. 1518: Colours the dial of the public clock. 1519: Gonfaloniere in Stalloreggi di Fuori. 1520: Madonna in the town-hall of Casole (said to exist). 1521: Joins in the defence of Siena against Renzo da Ceri; and is one of a faction called the Libertini. 1528: Captain in Stalloreggi; furnishes an eagle for the residence of the notaries, and a fall for the Madonna by Gentile da Fabriano. Asks for, and is refused, the gabella of the market at Siena. 1526: Fights at Camollia against the Papal and Florentine troops. 1527: Standard for Annibale dell' Aquila, captain of Siena. 1528: Gonfaloniere of Stalloreggi. Tavola in S. Maria a Tressa; takes part in the assault of Montebenicchi; works at the fortifications of Siena. 1529: Imprisoned for treason, and placed in a punishment company at Talamone. Pardoned and confined at Viteccio. Standard for the Duomo. 1530: Joins the conspiracy of the Libertini and Popolani. 1531: Interposes in favour of a relative sentenced to the stake for forgery. 1532: Works in the chapel of the compagnia di S. Giov. della Morte. 1533: Captain of district of S. Marco. 1534: Joins the club of the Bardotti. 1535: His flight and concealment in a tomb; paints a triumphal arch at the coming of Charles V. 1539: Captain of Stalloreggi; paints the chapel of S. Giov. della Morte; (November 17) exiled. 1540 (August 17): Recalled. Dies. See com. VASARI, vi. 426 *sqq.*, iv. 591; *Doc. sen.*, iii. 40, 46, 47, 59, 84, 103; DELLA VALLE, *Lett. san.*, iii. 317 and following; GAYE, *Carteggio*, ii. 116.

[1] No. 422, Academy of Siena (wood).

[2] No. 426, Academy of Siena (wood, in three parts). Visitation between SS. Michael and Francis.

[3] No. 84, Academy of Arts. Visitation, with the kneeling SS. John the Baptist, and Leonardo; erect, Anthony Abbot, Anthony of Padua, Nicholas of Bari, and a Dominican.



Photo, Alinari

THE VISITATION

BY GIACOMO PACCHIAROTTI

From an altarpiece in the Siena Gallery

VI.—*To face page 6*

Florence, of which it is therefore unnecessary to speak further. Another Ascension at the Carmine of Siena, if it be by Pacchiarotti, to whom it is assigned, is the best attempt he ever made at that subject. The painter is determined that there shall be movement and passion in all his personages, and he tries to realize both by extraordinary pose, and by speaking gesture or strong expression; but with all the desire to produce these results he fails, because he has not the suppleness or correctness of drawing, or the mastery of anatomy which might enable him to overcome the difficulties he courts. He produces strained attitudes and contortions; and though feeling and dignity are conveyed in the figure of the Virgin, awkwardness and rigidity are common to the surrounding saints. If he has any special tendency in addition, it is to make the human frame long and bony, to suggest by childish curls of drapery the idea of a breeze, to colour the flesh without marked contrasts of light and shadow, in a warm, rosy, but well-fused yellowish tint. He has, perhaps, in his memory reminiscences of the most varied nature, Umbrian poses of Perugino and Pinturicchio, agitated or convulsed action of Signorelli, affectation caricaturing the Leonardesque of Bazzi, and recalling even Piero della Francesca.[1] The features of this Ascension are no longer entirely characteristic of Pacchiarotti; they lead one forward to the consideration of Girolamo del Pacchia, his contemporary, and perhaps at one time his fellow-labourer. It is curious, indeed, that whilst the study of Fungai reveals a companionship between him and Pacchiarotti, a similar relation is afterwards to be noticed between Pacchiarotti and del Pacchia. The link which connects the two last might be traced even to the Ascension just described, in the Academy of Siena, a picture differing from that of the Carmine in some particulars only. The latter, in fact, is a composition of the same stamp as that in the Academy, but a variation of it as regards tone and the admixture of more modern elements derived from the Umbrians. It makes a sensible approach to del Pacchia's Coronation of the Virgin in

[1] We have noticed in Piero della Francesca (v. 18) an Ascension at Borgo S. Sepolcro, with the execution of which the names of Gerino da Pistoia and Francesco da Città di Castello have also been mentioned. There is much in that picture reminiscent of this at the Carmine of Siena, and others to be named in connection with Pacchia.

S. Spirito of Siena, and is to be classed rather as one of his youthful creations than as a work in which Pacchiarotti should have changed his style to one more like that of his colleague.[1]

Girolamo del Pacchia was the son of a Hungarian who had become famous at the close of the fifteenth century as a founder of cannon.[2] This Hungarian, known as Giovanni delle Bombarde, married a Sienese girl named Apollonia, who bore him Girolamo, on January 4, 1477. The boy, having lost his father a year after his birth, was educated by his mother, and brought up to the business of an artist. He took to wandering at an early age, and was in 1500 at Rome. An altarpiece which he delivered, in 1508, to the monastery of Pontignano near Siena, would tell, had it been preserved, what masters del Pacchia had been studying up to that time; in the absence of this example, and of others which were produced in 1511, one turns to the no less authentic though uninscribed pictures with which he adorned a chapel in S. Spirito and the altar of the Bandinelli at S. Cristoforo, of Siena.

The Coronation of the Virgin at S. Spirito[3] is remarkable for the vigour and harmony of its colour, and the breadth and accurate definition of its chiaroscuro. It has all the movement and none of the awkwardness of the Ascension at the Carmine, and is a manifest improvement on the forms usually given to the human face by the Sienese. The draperies are serpentine in fold instead of being broken as of old. The manner of Raphael is adapted with an originality natural to an independent talent, and the colours are of a thin texture and reddish tone reminiscent of Andrea da Salerno. A couple of angels beneath the principal

*[1] We add the following list of paintings by Pacchiarotti that have not yet been mentioned:

London. National Gallery, No. 1,849. The Nativity.

Siena. Gallery, No. 366. Five saints. *No.* 576: The Assumption of the Virgin (fragment). *Palazzo Palmieri-Nuti.* The Holy Family with four angels. The Virgin and Child with two saints. *Duomo, Chapter.* The Virgin and Child with two saints. *Arciconfraternita della Misericordia, Meeting-room.* SS. Anthony the Abbot and Paul.

[2] The authorities for this and the following facts and dates are to be found in MILANESI'S com. VASARI, vi. 415 *sqq.*; in *Doc. sen.*, vols. ii. and iii.; and in MILANESI *Sulla storia senese*, etc., *u.s.*, p. 174. *Siena e il suo territorio*, ii.

[3] Wood, arched, figures life-size, assigned by UGURGIERI in DELLA VALLE, *Letl. san.*, iii. 316, and others, to Pacchiarotti.

group are drawn in Raphaelesque movement; and foreshortenings, where they occur, disclose their origin in the same school.

The Virgin and Child between SS. Paul and Bernard are conceived with a measure of grandeur, and of refinement in character and expression to which the Sienese of the sixteenth century have not as yet accustomed us. The attitudes are dignified and appropriate, the Virgin, though broad in face, recalling Mariotto Albertinelli and Fra Bartolommeo as regards mould and Raphael in respect of attitude. The child is playful, handsome, and well drawn. Two infant angels flying under the draperies that would, but for their support, fall over the parapet of the throne, are quite airy and light in their aspect. There is a distinguished gravity and repose in the whole piece. Its colour is of the best obtained in Siena, powerful, brilliant, and transparent, and handled with a knowledge of all the technical improvements of the day, softly fused, well modelled, with an impasto scumbled and glazed after the approved fashion of the Venetians. A harmonious landscape adds to the general charm.[1]

There are proofs of Pacchia's presence at Siena in 1515, when he painted the bier of the company of S. Bernardino, and joined Beccafumi in appraising the frescoes of Girolamo di Benvenuto at Fontegiusta; but the earliest things extant are the Annunciation which was placed on the altar of the Tantucci by the Dominicans of S. Spirito in 1518, and the frescoes in the Confraternita di S. Bernardino, of Siena. The altarpiece is injured, but never had the beauty of that in S. Cristoforo.[2] It represents the Annunciation in a perspective of arches, and the Visitation in a distant landscape. The type of the Virgin remains almost unaltered, but her unnatural grace recalls the earlier efforts of Simone Martini, whilst the angel is slender, and strained in action. In the lapse of years, Pacchia had been evidently affected by the examples of Bazzi, and took some lessons from the Florentine Francia Bigio. He betrays these influences in the air and drawing of his figures, into which, however, the Florentine weight and breadth of drapery are but partially introduced. Nor has he any longer his

[1] Assigned also to Pacchiarotti by the old writers (wood, oil, figures life-size).

[2] Assigned likewise to Pacchiarotti (injured panel, arched, figures life-size); now No. 410 in the Academy of Siena.

old strength as a colourist, his fine rich tone being exchanged for one of a more clouded glassy tinge.

In the production of the frescoes for S. Bernardino, Pacchia competed in 1518 with Bazzi and Beccafumi. Without being able to surpass the Lombard who took the Leonardesque manner to Siena, and became one of the greatest masters of his time, Pacchia clearly outstripped Beccafumi, whose talents were marred by exaggeration and unhealthy fancy. He repeated with slight change, on one wall, the Annunciation of S. Spirito,[1] but he designed a Nativity on the other, as may be seen from the annexed reproduction, with a vivid memory of the Florentines.[2] At a first glance, indeed, we are reminded of Andrea del Sarto; but, in reality, it is the scale of art represented by Francia Bigio at the Servi of Florence which del Pacchia adopts. With that and a mixture of Sienese affectation, and with some traits derived from Pinturicchio, he produces an agreeable and sufficient originality. Having acquired this tendency in his later years, he preserved it unchanged in frescoes at the Oratorio dell' Oca in Fontebranda of Siena, where he illustrated three scenes from the legend of St. Catherine of Siena, with considerable skill and animation.[3]

[1] The lower part and ornament are somewhat injured in the fresco compartment containing the angel. The Virgin's blue mantle is repainted.

[2] The female handing a cup to St. Anna is retouched, and the head particularly injured.

Del Pacchia also painted a St. Bernardino in the same locality (*Doc. sen.*, iii. 60).

[3] St. Catherine cures Matteo di Cenni of the plague (too injured to give an idea of Pacchia's style).

Dominicans, assailed on the road by robbers, are liberated by St. Catherine. In the foreground to the left, a Dominican is held by the head by two of the thieves. In the distance to the right, some friars are journeying on horseback, and nuns kneel in prayer.

St. Agnes of Montepulciano, on the bed of death, is visited by St. Catherine, her foot being raised by miracle as the saint approaches to kiss it. Two females, kneeling on the left, are full of life and movement; and a fine feminine form near this group points to St. Catherine. The latter, on the right, stoops to kiss the foot, behind her a suite. These two last frescoes are injured by restoring. The figures are slender, and often affected in action. The sharp outlines and raw colour may be owing to bad condition.

The best of the series is the last, in which Pacchia follows the laws of composition bequeathed to the Florentines by Giotto. The face and figure of the dead St. Agnes are noble, and the attitudes of the remaining figures appropriate.



Photo, Alinari

THE NATIVITY OF THE VIRGIN
BY GIROLAMO DEL PACCHIA
From a fresco in the Oratorio di S. Bernardino, Siena

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He was betrayed in his old age into companionship with Pacchiarotti and the dangerous club of the Bardotti, in 1533; and when that lawless community was dispersed in 1535, he disappeared from Siena, and was never heard of afterwards. The character of his authentic works now justifies the historian in ascribing to him most of the pictures in European galleries usually attributed to Pacchiarotti. Of these there are good examples in the Siena Academy[1] and in the Munich Pinakothek;[2] a better in the National Gallery,[3] and one still more important under the name of Fra Bartolommeo in the collection of the Duke of Westminster.[4]

In Pacchia's earlier style is a fresco of the Marriage of Cana, in a lunette to the right of the semi-dome, in the Baptistery of S. Giovanni at Siena.

[1] Siena Academy, No. 433. Assigned to Pacchia. Holy Family and St. Anthony of Padua; round, wood; slightly conventional and strained in action; pale yellow in flesh tone. The technical handling varies slightly from that of other examples by Pacchia. Same gallery, No. 350: Virgin and Child.

[2] Munich Pinakothek, No. 1,059: St. Bernardino between two angels (wood, half-lengths). Same gallery, No. 1,058: Virgin, Child, and angels. Raphaelesque and Florentine mixed; the movement of the Child very lively. The colour has a waxy semi-transparence (slightly retouched).

[3] No. 246. Virgin and Child, a Raphaelesque composition, far above anything ever done by Pacchiarotti, to whom it is given.

[4] The Virgin with her left arm round the waist of the young Baptist, on the right, to whom the Infant Christ, on her lap gives His blessing; in the rear St. Joseph, a landscape, and a green curtain. This is a graceful group, little less than half life-size, carefully executed, but of a veiled transparence in the flesh shadows, and bright in the lights (yellowish), worked with a fluid brush, a mixture of Raphael and Fra Bartolommeo, with a certain Sienese impress in the types and movement that seem peculiar to Pacchia. The hand of Christ and that of the Baptist are retouched, and the flesh in the Virgin is not free from restoring.

For a Holy Family (No. 35, Gallery of the Hermitage at St. Petersburg), attributed to Pacchia, see *postea*, Bugiardini. No. 36, in the same gallery, is a round of the Nativity, in which the Virgin adores the Infant on the ground, St. Joseph being seated to the left. In the distance to the right are an open lodge and a landscape. An impress as of Florentine imitation (Albertinelli, Fra Bartolommeo, and their followers) may be found in the composition and distance. The execution is not on a level with the conception, the colour being light and a little gay in the Sienese manner, and suggesting the name of Pacchia. [* In addition to the works by Pacchia already mentioned, the following may be enumerated:

Allington Castle. Sir M. Conway. The Virgin and Child.

Berlin. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, No. 105. The Marriage of the Virgin. (*cf. postea*, p. 132). *Herr A. von Beckerath.* The Virgin and Child with saints and angels.

Gloucester (near). Highnam Court. Sir Hubert Parry, Bart. The Virgin and Child with two saints.

It is not sufficient to have reduced Pacchiarotti to his original mediocrity, and restored del Pacchia to his station in the annals of Siena. Their countryman Peruzzi claims a more honourable attention than our age is usually willing to bestow; and it becomes necessary to rescue his pictorial labours from oblivion. It may be true as a general proposition that his merits have been recognized, but in considering the manifold acquirements of so versatile a genius, it has been usual to study one side to the detriment of the other; and we are too apt to forget the painter in the architect.

Baldassare Peruzzi was born at Siena on March 7, 1481, and was the son of a weaver.[1] In 1501 he was employed by the Rector of the Duomo in the circular chapel dedicated to S. Giovanni[2]—a proof of his precocious powers. Amongst the artists to whom he may thus early have been indebted for instruction and advice, Giovanni Antonio Bazzi was the most remarkable. He had been brought from Lombardy to Siena by an agent of the Spannochi family, at the close of the fifteenth century, and obtained immediate encouragement as well as satisfactory commissions. From Bazzi Baldassare probably took something of the Leonardesque; but he had scarcely received payment for his work in S. Giovanni of Siena, when his sympathy was won by Pinturicchio, who had just obeyed the summons of Cardinal Piccolomini.

Peruzzi in this way combined his own style with the Lombard and the Umbrian, and went thus fortified to Rome about the year 1504.[3] Though untried, and probably without friends, he

London. Lady Jekyll. Venus.

Sarteano (Val di Chiana). Collegiata. The Annunciation.

Siena. Gallery, No. 448. The Virgin and Child with two saints. *S. Girolamo, second altar to the left.* St. Jerome in his study and two other saints. *Arcicon-fraternità della Misericordia, chapel.* The Virgin and Child.

[1] Register of Baptisms at Siena (cit. com. VASARI, iv. 590). Baldassare's father was Giovanni di Salvestro di Salvadore Peruzzi, weaver, of Volterra, who came to Siena as a settler between 1475 and 1481.

[2] 1501, August 15, he receives 42 lire for paintings in that place (com. in VASARI, iv. 641).

[3] He went, according to VASARI, with one Piero of Volterra to Rome (iv. 591) about the close of the papacy of Alexander VI. A record is preserved in which this very Pietro (Maestro Pietro del fu Andrea da Volterra), being at Rome in 1506, appoints Pacchiarotti his agent at Siena (annot. VASARI, iv. 591).

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quickly achieved a position, and settled in the capital, a favourite of his countrymen as well as of the highest dignitaries in the Church.

One decoration of great extent and importance, completed before the lapse of the first ten years of the century, gives an exact view of his progress as well as of the direction taken by his labours. In the semi-dome and tribune of S. Onofrio, an Eternal, a Coronation of the Virgin, and a Virgin amongst saints, at the sides of which the Epiphany and Massacre of the Innocents are depicted, leave no doubt as to the way in which his style was formed. The Eternal is like Fiorenzo's[1] at S. Croce in Gerusalemme. The angels remind us of Pinturicchio. The apostles about the Coronation are more lively in movement than those of Bernardino, and recall the Leonardesque of Bazzi. In the central Madonna and the Massacre, but particularly in the Adoration, where the distant episodes betray the influence of the Perugian, and the mask of the Infant Christ is that of the Lombard, we trace the same contrast.[2] Nor is it confined to the tribune, being exhibited with equal distinctness in one of the chapels.[3]

* [1] For "Fiorenzo's" read "Antoniasso's" (see *antea*, v. 267 *sq.*).

[2] MANCINI (in DELLA VALLE, *Lett. san.*, iii. 182) would assign these frescoes entirely to Pinturicchio. TITI (annot. VASARI, iv. 591) suggests Peruzzi for the semi-dome, Pinturicchio for the wall-paintings beneath it. VASARI, however, says (iv. 591): "Peruzzi did the choir of S. Onofrio"; and there is one hand in the whole work. The semi-dome subjects are all on gold ground, in courses. Below the Eternal in four spaces, angels; beneath these the Coronation between the twelve Apostles and twelve sybils. In the central fresco of the tribune, the Virgin (mantle repainted) is enthroned between SS. John the Baptist, Jerome, a female, and Onofrio, the donor kneeling in the foreground. The head of the Baptist is Leonardesque. A daïs of gold hangs over the Virgin's head. The fresco of the Massacre comprises also a Flight into Egypt, the landscape full of incidents and small figures as in Pinturicchio. In this, as in the Adoration on the left, the dresses are almost all repainted, and in the latter the landscape is renewed. The lower part of the tribune pieces is quite new. The colour, generally, is freely handled in a warm yellowish tone. [* These frescoes have been carefully analyzed by Professor HERMANIN, in *Archivio storico dell' arte*, ser. ii., vol. ii., p. 321 *sqq.*]

[3] First chapel to the right, where the Eternal in benediction, high above the altar, with three angels on a blue ground (repainted) is in the character of the choir frescoes. The ceiling may contain paintings of the same type; it is now covered with a painted canvas. At S. Pietro in Montorio of Rome, second chapel to the right, are a Coronation with angels, four allegorical figures on the front of the arched chapel entrance, and angels carrying scutcheons, in the mixed

At S. Croce in Gerusalemme, the vaulting of a crypt, dedicated to St. Helen, is inlaid with mosaics after models furnished by Peruzzi in the first period of his Roman stay, his employer being Cardinal Bernardino Carvajal. A central medallion of the Eternal is connected diagonally with the bends of the angles by four ovals in which the Evangelists stand. Between the ovals four shovel frames contain scenes from the Legend of the Cross, SS. Sylvester, Peter, Paul, and Helen (with Cardinal Carvajal at her feet) being in niches in the arches of the entrances. The design, akin to that of an earlier age, might confirm the propriety of an opinion according to which this ornamentation was made to replace another of an older date. Its distribution and rendering reveal a rare mastery of perspective as applied to architecture. A sensible, perhaps inevitable, hardness prevails. We trace some of the heavy coarseness derived from Pinturicchio in the Evangelists; a more successful boldness in the other saints and in the angel symbolizing St. John Evangelist. Throughout we find the same composite character as in the frescoes of S. Onofrio.[1]

Equally interesting and hitherto unacknowledged as a creation of Peruzzi is the ceiling, partly renewed by Raphael, in the Camera dell'Eliodoro at the Vatican. With the exception of the corners and shovel frames, the whole of the decoration evidently existed previous to the entrance of Sanzio upon his labours in this hall. Many before him had left specimens of their talent there—Piero della Francesca,[2] Signorelli, and Della Gatta.[3] But the author of beautiful works like these, which are so clearly the forerunners of others in the Farnesina, is a painter of the time of Julius II.[4] They show the taste of a man impressed with the beauties of the antique, and with the hardihood, the power, and precision of one

style of S. Onofrio. Of the same class, in the same edifice, four figures above an altar, near the foregoing. These are all mediocre productions, much injured by restoring, by some artist of the following of Pinturicchio and Peruzzi.

[1] These mosaics are mentioned by ALBERTINI in his *Opusculum, u.s.* The ornament is very rich. Each oval is supported by a winged male issuing out of a flower that grows in a vase, two peacocks interlaced forming a neat addition at the sides, all on gold ground. In the vaultings there is much in the shape of fruit, flowers, and birds. Cocks are neatly introduced above the niche containing the figure of Peter. [2] VASARI, ii. 492. [3] *Ib.*, iv. 330.

[4] On the vaulting above the Liberation of St. Peter: "Julius Pont. Max.," on that above the Miracle of Bolsena, in a frame: "Julius II."

familiar with the division of architectural spaces. The framework is on gold ground, into which four medallions imitating bronze are let in, the rest being monochrome in various forms simulating bas-reliefs of Greek skirmishes, children, and allegorical impersonations. Peruzzi's share, if it be not incorrect to assign the portion we have just examined to him, is richer and better than that which the aids under Sanzio's orders carried out in the spring of the angles, the latter being on a simple yellow ground, whilst the former is on gold. A long and slender figure of Abundance dancing on a cloud in one of the rhomboids, though obviously derived from the classic in its pose, action, drapery, and style of nude, is executed with that tendency to bony articulations and extremities peculiar to a Sienese. The mould of the face in its circling of falling locks is not without a reminiscence of Bazzi, whilst the flowing dress is rendered in the mode derived by Peruzzi from the Lombard and from Pinturicchio.[1] Two children, sitting above the name of Julius II., exhibit similar maxims of art, and a raw reddish tinge of colour. The skirmishes in monochrome are from the antique, which, it is well known, Peruzzi was led to study with unusual industry in Rome. Raphael's forbearance in preserving these masterpieces is as great a proof of judgment as that which he used towards Perugino was an evidence of kindness of heart.[2]

During this period of progress in the career of Peruzzi, the materials for a thorough insight into the principles of ancient structures were ready to his hand. As the foundation of old edifices were laid bare one after the other, artists flocked to the favoured places, and measured the ground-plans, the diameters of columns, and the thickness of walls. From fragments of bas-reliefs, they got an additional insight into the methods familiar to the sculptors of the best age. Perspective was necessarily applied in its most scientific abstruseness to realize the outward appearance of buildings, the fallen members of which were too

[1] The figure, in waving drapery, holds a cornucopia in the right, and pours water from a cup in her raised left hand. The drapery is cast in a manner derived from Bazzi and Pinturicchio.

[2] If the ceiling should be proved at a future time to have been by the old Bramante (Bramantino), we must then say he is the master of Peruzzi, and that Baldassare inherited his art exactly as we see it applied at the Farnesina.

bulky to be raised, or too much injured to allow of re-edification. Through perspective, of which Peruzzi became a master, we may well suppose that he gained a quicker knowledge of architecture than he might otherwise have attained. But he owed much also to Vitruvius, whose text he annotated and translated, leaving the sheets to be afterwards published by the industry of his pupil Serlio.[1] The latter admits that he was first led to understand architecture by following a course of perspective,[2] and it is likely that the same thing happened to Baldassare.[3] Favoured by circumstances, as Peruzzi was, and gifted as we have already seen, it was natural that his accomplishments should soon become known; and we note without surprise how eagerly Agostino Chigi, the rich banker of Siena then residing at Rome, took advantage of his skill to erect a palace on the Tiber banks.[4]

The Farnesina Palace, as it is now called, has been poetically described by Vasari as "non murato ma nato."[5] It is one of the finest of its kind, and embodies grace, solidity, and correct proportion. There is no reason to believe that Peruzzi completed it later than 1509 or 1510,[6] at which time not only the main block had been erected and covered externally with subjects,[7] but the garden-lodge had been finished. In the flat central roof of the latter, Peruzzi drew Perseus overcoming Gorgon, and a Diana furiously driving a car drawn by bulls; in the curves, gods and goddesses, such as Venus combing her hair on a couch, Diana preparing for a hunt, Hercules and the Lion, Hercules and Hydra, Apollo and the Centaur, Leda on the back of the Swan, Jove and Europa, Venus and Saturn, Ganymede on the shoulders of the Eagle;[8] in the vaulting of the windows, males and females, mostly seated and

[1] LOMAZZO (*Idea del Tempio*, p. 14) charges Serlio with plagiarism; but he is hard on Serlio, who acknowledges his debt.

[2] See SERLIO in DELLA VALLE, *Lett. san.*, iii. 174, 175.

[3] The rivalry of Bramante spurred Peruzzi very strongly, says VASARI (iv. 592).

[4] VASARI, iv. 593.

[5] *Ib., ib.*

[6] Painted before Raphael had reached the pinnacle of his fame (VASARI, v. 567). [* It seems likely that the Farnesina was begun in 1509; the building was finished by 1511, in which year Peruzzi may be supposed to have commenced his frescoes. See FÖRSTER, *Farnesina-Studien* (Rostock, 1880), p. 13 *sqq.*]

[7] They have perished.

[8] On blue ground.

variously occupied;[1] in the spandrels above the capitals, cupids in dead colour;[2] and in other supplementary spaces, river-gods on monsters, the whole surrounded by monochrome borders so graceful and so ably conceived that Titian declared he could not distinguish them from stone.[3] At a later period Sebastian del Piombo covered the lunettes purposely left bare by Peruzzi, including one which tradition assigns to Michael Angelo ;[4] and Raphael introduced the beauteous Galatea on the wall below. The authorship of Peruzzi has been contested in spite of Vasari's text,[5] and in defiance of the evidence of style; and the ceiling of the Loggia has been ascribed to Daniel da Volterra, perhaps in consequence of the confusion caused by the similarity of names between the Palazzo Farnese where Daniel did work, and the Palazzo della Farnesina where he did not. Peruzzi's manner is too characteristic to be mistaken. In order thoroughly to understand it, a broad and general view must be taken of the man not as a painter alone, nor as a sculptor, nor an architect, but as a combination of all three. The roof of the Farnesina must not be examined piece by piece, but in connection with its architectural arrangement, its geometrical balance, and the position of each object depicted. The result of the whole is a harmonic unity. Peruzzi was a man of compass and of rule, a master of perspective, and a mathematician. He had already realized what Raphael in later years was but hoping to attain—the "fine form of the edifices of antiquity." For him the flight was no longer "that of Icarus."[6] The antique had made him familiar with the forms of the classic Greek. It was a necessary consequence of his studies, as well as of the tasks usually before him, that the pictorial should be but a part of a plastic and architectural whole;

[1] On gold ground. [2] On green ground.

[3] VASARI, iv. 594. [* For a careful inquiry into the range of subjects depicted in this fresco, see FÖRSTER, *u.s.*, p. 39 *sqq.*]

[4] See LANZI (*History of Painting, u.s.*, i. 148), who confounds the two Palaces of the Farnesina and Farnese. [* The fresco traditionally ascribed to Michael Angelo —a colossal head in monochrome—is in all probability by Peruzzi (*cf.* FRIZZONI, *Arte italiana del rinascimento*, p. 211).]

[5] VASARI, iv. 593.

[6] See Raphael's letter to Baldassare Castiglione, from Rome, in BOTTARI, *Raccolta, u.s.*, ii. 23.

that he should calculate how the figures were to fill a given room; that painting should not be independent, but fettered. When he found it suitable, the human proportions were made subservient to their place rather than to each other, their movements being calculated with less reference to the reality than to sculptural or architectural requirements, and therefore unnatural. But, in his mode of filling, he obeyed a law of harmony as telling in its way as a similar one applied to colour was telling in the hands of Titian.[1] It was, indeed, his substitute for colour; for in his ardour he neglected, or he showed that he lacked, the great and precious gift which charms in Vecelli, del Sarto, and Correggio.

From a very remote time, the Sienese had betrayed their partiality for Greek sculpture. In some the taste was not pure, as in Simone Martini and Antonio Federighi, their familiarity with the antique being insufficiently aided by that of nature, which is the source from which the Greeks drew the ideal. Conventionalism and rigidity were the results. Peruzzi, who inherited this tendency in his countrymen, was not free from their defects. His art stands in the same relation to the classic as that of the Etruscan vases. He composes subjects in the spirit of bas-reliefs, with personages of a stiff and affected action—even when moving in the boldest manner under a quick momentary impulse. In all circumstances he discloses his Sienese education[2] and the influence exercised by Pinturicchio and Bazzi. Yet he remains original, and holds the same position of honour in the Sienese school as the Lorenzetti and Simone, who were not equal to Giotto, though they surpassed his pupils. He does not keep the high level climbed by Leonardo, Michael Angelo, or Raphael, but he comes immediately after them, and is superior to all their followers. His execution is technically simple. The hard rosy tones of the flesh and the tints of the draperies are without any under-preparation, and the white surface is the highest light. In no part of the Farnesina Palace is Peruzzi more completely characterized than in the Fall of Gorgon, where Perseus waves his sword about her head, whilst a female and three males show their faces and

[1] LANZI truly says: "He distorts and connects those images with a surprising symmetry" (*History of Painting*, i. 303).

[2] In the bony drawing of extremities.

busts above the frieze. A diagonal, dividing the picture, would confine the portion described to one-half of its rectangle, giving it the appearance of having been intended for the pediment of a temple, the more as a fragment of a horse at the narrowest part reminds us of that of the Parthenon. The upper half contains a single and comparatively colossal Victory blowing a horn, whose limbs, wings, and drapery are made to fill the space and establish the equilibrium of the composition.[1] The treatment is that peculiar to Peruzzi. It is full of forced activity and dash, yet essentially sculptural in feeling, the drapery especially being searched out for the sake of suggesting the under form. Equally hardy is the foreshortened position of the female in the next compartment, who with surprising wildness throws her head and body forward, stretching out the arm with the ribbands at which the steers are pulling, and holding with iron grip the side of her car.[2] Peruzzi's power is not less evident in the representation of the muscular strength and gigantic exertion of Hercules coping with the lion, a scene in which he establishes a favourable contrast between himself and Antonio Pollaiuolo.[3]

But Peruzzi did not confine himself to the lodge of the Farnesina. In the hall of the upper floor, which precedes the rooms adorned by Bazzi and Beccafumi, he paints the ceiling, with its tasteful cornice and mouldings resting on mimic caryatidæ, the frieze held up by pilasters and unreal windows, through the openings of which landscapes are depicted, the effect being, as

[1] Perseus and Gorgon are on the clouds. His steel armour is now slightly discoloured.

[2] This fresco has most of the Sienese contortion, the figure being at the same time too long and slender. The character of Etruscan art is curiously marked in this as well as in the thinness of the limbs, and in the motion of the steers. The ground is starred blue. Between the steer's legs are seven heads of the winds. The car runs along the clouds. The right arm of the female and parts around it are restored.

[3] The Hercules and Lion are as an antique bronze, so powerfully given is the action of the leg breaking the back of the beast.

The monochrome framing and mouldings are very choice, and look as if they were real, an effect due at once to modelling and a judicious application of perspective. The gilt rosettes and the arms in the centre of the ceiling are the only parts in genuine relief. The lilies of the Farnese family were substituted for the Chigi scutcheon when the Palace of the Farnesina changed hands.

Vasari says, to increase the apparent size of the place;[1] nor does he neglect the ornaments above the doors, where the supporters of scutcheons are made to stand in classic pose, and children play above the architrave; nor those of the chimney, on the mantel of which Vulcan is at his forge; nor the panellings in which gods and goddesses are placed. Moderns, it is true, sometimes affirm that Giulio Romano was the author of the frieze for which the fables of antiquity contribute the richness of their imagery.[2] But a glance at such incidents as Apollo driving the chariot of the sun ought to have prevented this mistake. This is not the art bequeathed by Raphael to his favourite pupil. It is the bold, the classical one of Peruzzi, whose conception is the forerunner of that with which the less gifted Guido, under other influences as regards manner, produced the Aurora of the Rospigliosi Palace.[3]

Again, on the ground-floor, a room facing the Corsini Palace contains a fictive frieze in which we find a copious illustration of the fable of Hercules, the Rape of Europa, Danae and the golden rain, Diana transforming Actæon, the death of the latter, Apollo and Midas with the ass's ears, Apollo and Marsyas, Venus and Cupid, gambols of children and tritons, river-gods, Silenus, a satyr surprising Venus asleep, the chase of Meleager, Endymion. Nothing can be more fanciful or more powerfully handled than this graceful and well-arranged series, nothing more like Peruzzi than the plastic nature and action of the figures. It is the work of a man who has studied Michael Angelo and Raphael without abandoning his own originality, who has become chastened by contact with great contemporaries.[4]

An interesting narrative might now be given of various undertakings entrusted to Peruzzi. We might describe the numerous edifices which he adorned in Rome;[5] we might illustrate the skill with which he decorated the walls "with children, sacrifices, battles, episodes, and architecture," so as greatly to enhance the

[1] VASARI, iv. 593. [2] Annot. VASARI, v. 524.

*[3] The frescoes in this room have been accurately described by Professor FÖRSTER, *u.s.*, p. 88 *sqq.*

*[4] Compare on these frescoes FÖRSTER, *u.s.*, p. 86 *sqq.*

[5] VASARI, iv. 592–596, 599–601; LOMAZZO, *Trattato*, p. 187, who specially mentions monochromes of children on a house in Trastevere at Rome; and SERLIO, *Regole generali d'architettura*, etc., fol. Venice, 1537, lib. iv., cap. xi., p. lxx.

beauty of façades in themselves simple and sparely ornamented; we might tell how he got up the "Treason of Giulia Tarpeia" at the festival given to Giuliano de' Medici (1515) on his appointment to the supreme command of the Papal forces;[1] how he furnished models to Cardinal Pio for the Duomo (1515), and for S. Niccolò (1517) of Carpi;[2] we might register frescoes in the Vatican and in S. Pietro, others done for Riario, Cardinal of Ostia, both in the capital and in Ostia;[3] but this would be a labour of little fruit, especially as the Ponzetti chapel in S. Maria della Pace offers an excellent clue to Peruzzi's manner in 1517. In a semi-dome, no doubt planned by himself,[4] he painted, in three courses, the Sacrifice of Isaac, the Creation of Adam and Eve, Moses receiving the Tables of the Law, the Nativity, Epiphany, and Flight into Egypt, David and Goliath, the Deluge, and Judith despatching Holofernes.[5] Below these, the Virgin and Child between SS. Catherine of Alexandria and Brigitta, the latter recommending Ferrando on his knees at her feet.

All these subjects bear a great and unmistakable stamp. The beauty of the spacing, and the taste with which the panelling is adorned, are not surpassed in Raphael's chapel at S. Maria del Popolo.[6] But the talent of Peruzzi at this period is particularly

[1] VASARI, iv. 595. [2] CAMPORI (*Gli artisti, u.s.*, p. 358] and VASARI (iv. 598).

[3] VASARI, iv. 591 *sq.* The latter are said by Vasari to have been done with the aid of Cesare da Sesto. [* A fresco of the Three Graces in the collection of Prince Chigi of Rome appears to be a fragment of the work of mural decoration carried out by Peruzzi in the Castle of Ostia (see FRIZZONI, *Arte italiana del rinascimento*, p. 194 *sq.*). As shown by the same author (*ib.*, p. 202 *sqq.*), the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome still contains some frescoes by Peruzzi—viz., four scenes from the life of Hannibal, in the Sala delle Guerre, and representations of triumphal processions of Roman Kings in the Sala dei Fasti. All these frescoes have been much repainted, and those in the Sala dei Fasti are, moreover, in a fragmentary condition.]

[4] "Fece una cappella," says VASARI (iv. 594). The period in which the frescoes were completed was for a long time indicated in the framing of the semi-dome frescoes by the words: "FERDINĀDVS POZETTVS CAMĒ APCE· PRESIDĒ DECĀVS DIVE BRIGIDE NERITIE DICAVIT." In 1869 this inscription was painted over in marble colour; and the same barbarous "improvement" was made to the pilasters and basement of the picture. At that time Ferrando Ponzetti was Archdeacon of Sorrento, and President of the apostolic chamber.

[5] The annotators of VASARI (ed. Le Monnier, viii. 223] describe these subjects, and express regret at their loss when they are still standing.

[6] Begun 1516, finished 1519.

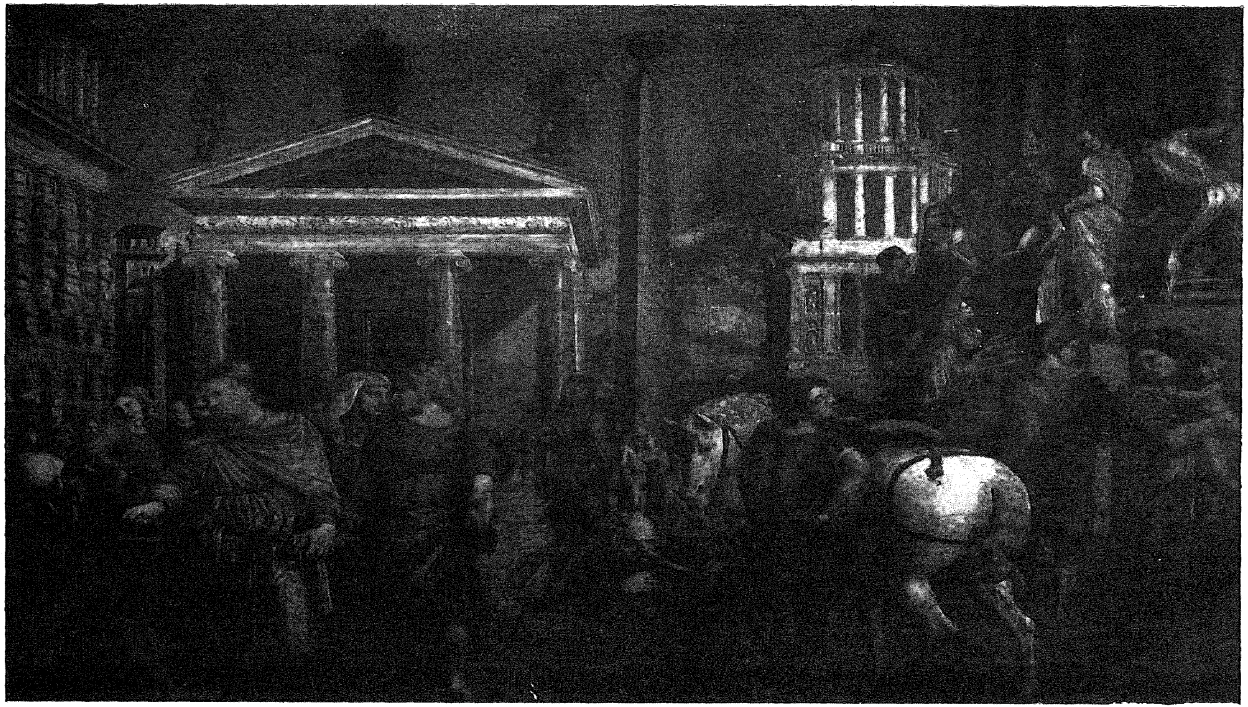
remarkable as displaying his endeavour to rival Michael Angelo and Raphael in dignity of character, of expression, and of life, in breadth of handling, and in noble simplicity of drapery. Though it was not easy to attain this combination without loss of independent style, Peruzzi did so with good fortune, and affords a gratifying example of the impulse which may be given to genius by the rivalry of great men.

The Creation is composed and carried out with an art in the footsteps of that of Buonarroti and Sanzio. The Eternal taking Eve shows her to Adam, from whose rib she has just been shaped. His movement, as he sweeps in the air, recalls in its grandeur that of Raphael in the Camera dell' Eliodoro; but the mode in which Eve is brought into the presence of Adam is a fine compression of Michael Angelo's two subjects in the ceiling of the Sixtine chapel, and full of his elasticity in the reproduction of nude. In the Adoration, Peruzzi appears more completely in his own colours, with the oft-recurring impress of Bazzi in the type of faces, but with rich and skilful grouping of his own, and a grand cast of drapery.

The conception of the Deluge illustrates another side of Peruzzi's character. Almost all trace of the Umbrian is lost in a vigorous union of episodes and action, in the rendering of which the models of the Florentine school, and particularly those of Buonarroti afford the master peculiar inspirations. Without falling into the empty imitation of the Herculean in form, Peruzzi applies with originality the maxims upon which the art of the great Florentine was based, and strives to gain a footing on the level which he attained.[1]

The Sacrifice of Isaac, in the contemplation of which we revert to the time of Ghiberti's competition with Brunelleschi, is also very fine. The angel arresting the hand of Abraham, the patriarch himself, are grand in the freedom and life which they embody; and the group is adapted to its place by an application of the principles that dictated to Raphael his arrangement of the same subject.

[1] On the left the ark floats on the waters, and a boat tries to weather the storm. A horse and an ox swim to the land, and a man grasps in agony at the bank. A female with two children at her feet listens to a man who points to the rising flood. More in rear, a man holds on to a tree.



Photo, Alinari

THE PRESENTATION OF THE VIRGIN IN THE TEMPLE
BY BALDASSARE PERUZZI
From a fresco in S. Maria della Pace, Rome

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Less successful in the Nativity, the Flight into Egypt, or the David and Goliath, Peruzzi is himself again in the Judith and Holofernes, where an old female on the ground stoops with her arm and shoulder between her knees in a pose, the counterpart, as to spirit, of one in the Sixtine chapel.

The grand figures of the Virgin, Child, and St. Brigitta, would be still more effective, were it not for something strained and affected in them and a certain mannerism in the drawing; but Ferrando Ponzetti's is a broad and massive portrait, and the pose, the drapery, and the outline of the head are a noble mixture of the sculptural with the Leonardesque of Bazzi. The bold and pastose touch proclaims a thorough mastery over the *technica*, though, as usual, the flesh is a little raw and rusty in tone.[1]

An artist who can produce the frescoes of S. Maria della Pace has reached a giddy and dangerous elevation, beyond which it is difficult to advance and but too easy to recede. Peruzzi at this point had tried his powers to the utmost. It was but human that he should rest on his laurels, and that the result should then be rather the reflex of past greatness than the accession of new strength. But Peruzzi preserved his ascendancy in architecture after he had yielded his best in painting; and he remained in honour in consequence of a versatility which he shared with others of his highly favoured age. We shall see how he ultimately fell into increasing conventionalism and affectation. In the meanwhile the ravages of time and restorers are alone the cause why less attraction is felt for the Presentation in the Temple at S. Maria della Pace than for the frescoes of the Ponzetti chapel. In the absence of any outer charm, we may still admire in it the maxims of true composition, the introduction of the antique into architecture, the illustration of several abstruse laws in perspective science, the grand, the sculptural, and the graceful in action, drapery, and motives.[2]

[1] The blue drapery on the Virgin's shoulder, and the left hand of St. Catherine, are repainted, the tapestry behind the group dimmed by time. Flesh parts here and there are renewed. Paintings by Peruzzi on the face of the wall into which the domed chapel is sunk are greatly damaged. One sees traces of the angel liberating St. Peter, David playing the harp, and Christ appearing to St. Paul.

[2] This large fresco is enclosed in a gilt wooden frame. It is injured by restoring, and of a dull reddish tone. The antique classic spirit in the composition and

Something might be said of a Nativity, the only extant fresco of those which Peruzzi left in S. Rocco of Rome. But the injured condition of its parts only permits a guarded opinion, and the belief that it may have been produced shortly after 1517.[1] From that year till 1520, when he succeeded Raphael as architect of S. Pietro,[2] and from 1520 to the sack of Rome, he did little that has not perished. It is interesting, however, to note amongst fleeting productions of those days the scenes got up for Cardinal Bibbiena's play of the Calandra. Before his death Raphael had furnished the decorations of Ariosto's *Suppositi*, given at the expense of Leo X. in a temporary theatre.[3] When Raphael died, Leo found nobody abler for that sort of work than Peruzzi, whose fame had otherwise been eclipsed by Sebastian del Piombo;[4] and the patronage of the Pope no doubt induced his fool Fra Mariano also to employ him.[5]

During Leo's last years Peruzzi was induced to visit Bologna at the request of persons who desired to complete the front of S. Petronio. In the period of his stay there (1521–22) he made several drawings on various scales and of different proportions, without satisfying the superintendents of the building.[6] He was more fortunate in pleasing private friends such as the Albergati, who erected a palace on his designs, Messer Panfilio dal Monte, and the Conte Giovambattista Bentivoglio.[7] The Adoration of the Magi, a cartoon presented by Peruzzi to the latter, is not the best that the master could have done; but being now in the National Gallery, it affords a convenient illustration of the

figures seems to have struck the Carracci and Nicholas Poussin. In a letter of G. B. Vignola to Martino Bassi, the former says in reference to it: "Baldassare . . . finse un telaio di legname essere attaccato a' gangheri di ferro alla muraglia, talchè chi non sa che sia dipinto nel muro, lo giudica fatto in tela" (Bottari, *Raccolta*, i. 498).

[1] Vasari, iv. 591.

[2] He was appointed by Leo X. (Vasari, iv. 599). The date of his appointment is August 1. The salary 150 ducats.

[3] See *postea*, the authorities for this statement.

[4] Vasari, iv. 599 and v. 571.

[5] In the garden at Montecavallo a figure of St. Bernard (Vasari, iv. 596), which no longer exists.

[6] Gaye, ii. 152, 153; iii. 480, 495.

[7] Lamo, *Graticola*, *u.s.*, pp. 22, 25, 29, and 35.

way in which he adopted, without the servility of a copyist, the conception and the mode of rendering form peculiar to Raphael.[1] The cartoon is an echo of that which Sanzio produced for his great series of tapestries, and was copied, not merely by Girolamo da Treviso,[2] but, with unimportant changes, by others.[3] The best-coloured variety of the subject, and one much in the spirit of Peruzzi, is that of the Escurial, like a theatrical scene, with the Colosseum, pillars, temples, and a marble Cæsar on a pedestal in the distance.[4]

Two contemporaries, in addition to Vasari, testify to the greatness of Peruzzi's talents at this time—Lamo, who heard him praise the compositions of Mazzolini of Ferrara;[5] and the architect Ercole Seccadinari, who described his drawings of S. Petronio as magnificent.[6]

The death of Leo X. and the accession of Adrian VI. were so unfavourable to the prospects of artists that Peruzzi was probably induced to prolong his absence from Rome; but at the expiration of Adrian's short lease of power he returned and was engaged (1523–24) at the festival in honour of Clement VII.'s coronation.[7] Amongst the commissions with which he was now troubled, one was from Cardinal Hinckworth for Adrian's tomb in S. Maria dell'Anima, the framework and sculpture of which were carried out by Michael Angelo of Siena and Tribolo, in a heavy style,

[1] No. 167, National Gallery.

[2] VASARI, iv. 598 and v. 137.

[3] No. 218, National Gallery, is one of these, too timidly handled to be even by Girolamo da Treviso, Geheimerrath WAAGEN's opinion (*Treasures*, i. 326) in this respect being correct. The piece is by an artist, Ferrarese, or other, of capacity equal to that, *e.g.*, of Rinaldo of Mantua.

Another example, like No. 218 of the National Gallery, is the feeble, red-toned Adoration in the collection of Lord Ellesmere (small, wood, No. 85).

A third, still more modern, is that of Dudley House, formerly in the Fesch Gallery, a feeble and very varnishy production, possibly by Prospero Fontana, as Geheimerrath WAAGEN states (*Treasures*, ii., p. 236). [* Sold at the Dudley sale, June 25, 1892 (No. 74), to Mr. Saltwell).]

[4] The picture is in a place called: "Aposento de Felipe II.," the colour of a reddish tone (wood).

[5] LAMO, *u.s.*, p. 25.

[6] His award is in GAYE, *Carteggio*, *u.s.*, ii. 152–153. The drawings were not taken because Seccadinari did not see how they could be used in consequence of the comparative want of strength in the body of S. Petronio. The payment for the designs was made on July 12, 1522, being the small sum of 18 lire (GAYE, *u.s.*, ii. 154).

[7] VASARI, iv. 601, 641.

whilst Peruzzi painted the canonization of two saints at its sides, a fresco which has since been obliterated.[1] Of the same period were the chiaroscuro apostles in the niches behind the tomb of Sixtus IV. at S. Pietro, one of which is said to be preserved in the "Grotte" of the Vatican.[2] But during the whole of this time, and until the sack of Rome in 1527, Peruzzi retained the office of architect to S. Pietro.

On that memorable occasion it was his misfortune to be captured and ransomed by the Spaniards, and plundered of all he possessed.[3] On his arrival in Siena, in the very lightest of dresses, his abject condition naturally excited the compassion of his countrymen, who drew up an address (June 10, 1527) to the Balia in his favour. The Government was but too glad to secure such a man, and Peruzzi was engaged at a salary of five scudi per month.[4] We shall not follow his career during the time when his chief occupation was that of an architect or the revision and planning of fortresses. From 1527 to 1535, when he returned to Rome, the pictorial works which he executed were few, being mainly con-

[1] See VASARI, iv. 600, and notes of com., *ib.*, 591; also VASARI, v. 92 *sq.* The Pope lies on the lid of a sarcophagus let into an arched recess, in the lunette of which are the Virgin and Child between SS. Peter and Paul. Two children at the angles of the sarcophagus hold torches reversed. Beneath it a bas-relief represents Adrian's arrival at Rome. In two supports at the sides of the recess are four niches with statues of Justice, Fortitude, Peace, and Prudence. The arms of the deceased, supported by infant angels, are on the basements. The execution is inferior to the conception. The antique is still the model in the sculptor's mind. But there is a lack of unity, of grace, and of lightness in the whole. The cornices are too heavy for the columns, and the figures are weak and short. The best statues are those of the recumbent Adrian, and the angels at the angles. The bas-relief is better than the single figures. Peruzzi received the balance due to him for this work through Pietro d' Andrea at Rome, on July 29, 1529, whilst he resided at Siena.

[2] VASARI and annot., iv. 601.

[3] There is a record dated October 5, 1533, in which Peruzzi pays to one Girolamo d' Agnolo at Siena 55 gold scudi, the remnant of a debt contracted for the payment of the ransom (see *Doc. sen.*, iii. 117). But see also note to VASARI, iv. 601, in which Baldassare acknowledges (September 28, 1529) his debt of 150 scudi, borrowed to pay "residuum taglie . . . temp. adventus Borbonis ad Urbem."

[4] The address and reply of the Balia are in *Doc. sen.*, iii. 100, 101. GAYE (*Carteggio*, ii. 496, 497) gives extracts from the accounts, including the payment of the salary in October and December, 1527, and adds that on October 17, 1532, Peruzzi received a grant for eleven years of the returns of the Marsiliana, valued at 240 scudi per annum.

fined to the decoration of the Castle of Belcaro,[1] and the completion of a fresco in S. Maria in Fontegiusta of Siena representing the sybil prophesying to Octavian. For those who admire the exaggerated classicism of the degenerate Michaelangelesques this wall-picture is a masterpiece. The masculine attitude and gesture of the sybil, the bold decision of movements galvanized, one might say, into sculptural immobility at the moment of utmost muscular tension, the theatrical terror of Octavian and the astonishment of his suite cannot but create an impression. But the obvious arrangement of the whole piece, parading instead of concealing the man's science and his knowledge of action and true proportion, are too unnatural to please. After S. Maria della Pace, Peruzzi would necessarily drop into this slough and fall into the coarseness of Baccio Bandinelli, if some superhuman effort did not stop him on the height which he had gained. It may console us to remember that Michael Angelo is not great in the Paolina as he is in the Sixtine. The Sybil of Fontegiusta is not the less of great power, teaching us to reject, as Peruzzi's, many pieces which his name has made familiar—amongst these, the Holy Family on the high-altar of the church of Torre di Bibiano, now supposed to be by one of the Piccinelli, the Brescianini of Siena,[2] and other portable pictures. We might except the

[1] Three miles from Siena. The frescoes were recently [* *i.e.*, shortly before 1866] freed from whitewash, and have not been seen by the authors. [* They are dated 1535 (*cf.* FRIZZONI, *u.s.*, p. 220 *sq.*)]

[2] The Virgin, with SS. John the Baptist and Jerome at her sides (half-lengths, and less than life-size). The Infant, seated on a parapet in front, turns from the breast and looks at the spectator. The execution is careful, the colour hard, but of a rosy tone, with sharply defined shadows. There is something Raphaelesque in the Virgin's face, forms, and movement; the Child is like those of Bazzi and Peruzzi. The handling, however, is not equal to the conception, and unworthy of Peruzzi. It seems like a production by an artist in possession of a design from the portfolio of a greater master. DELLA VALLE finds an approach to the style of Pacchiarotti. This is possible, if he can be supposed to have painted on the outlines of Peruzzi or Bazzi. The annotators of VASARI (vii. 9] declare themselves in favour of Andrea Piccinelli, the regularity and softness of whose work, though not exactly his colour, may be found in the picture we are now considering. [* The name of Andrea may be accepted without hesitation. (See OLCOTT, in *Rassegna d' arte*, iv. 56, with reproduction.)] There were two brothers Piccinelli, sons of a dancing-master at Siena, Andrea, of whose companionship with one Baptista di Fruosino, in 1507, there is a record (*Doc. sen.*, iii. 32). In 1524, however, Andrea is in company with his brother Raffaello, and they both paint a

"Charity" in the Museum of Berlin,[1] but Peruzzi may have left much to his apprentices, when busy in more important undertakings.[2] Of his return to Rome in 1535, when he gave himself

Baptism of Christ for S. Giovanni of Siena, appraised by Beccafumi and another (*ib.*, *ib.*, *ib.*). The brothers came to Florence in 1525, Andrea being registered in the guild of painters, and Raffaello being mentioned by VASARI (vii. 9) as in practice there. The Baptism of Christ still exists in the Pieve of S. Giovanni at Siena. [* Now in the Opera del Duomo.] It is reminiscent of the manner of Beccafumi, with more powerful shadows than those in the Virgin, Child, and saints, assigned to the same hand, in the Siena Academy (No. 409, with a predella numbered 408). There is no lack of regularity in the heads, the forms and movement being quieter than one finds them amongst Sienese, and in this respect more in the spirit of the Florentines of the following of Mariotto Albertinelli. The colour, however, is washy, bringing us back to that of Vincenzo Civerchio's creations (one of which, with the date of 1525, is at Palazzuolo). [* *Cf.* CROWE and CAVALCASELLE, *History of Painting in North Italy*, ed. BORENIUS, ii. 398.] The annotators of VASARI (vii. 9) register an altarpiece by Andrea, in the Oratorio della Chiocciola, near Siena. There is a Holy Family by him (No. 1,205), at the Uffizi of Florence. [* We may register the following works by this rather prolific eclectic:

Aitingham Hall (near Shrewsbury). Lord Berwick. Portrait of a Young Man.

Berlin. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, No. 230. St. Anne, the Virgin and the Infant Christ (imitated from Leonardo's painting of the same subject in the Louvre).

Milan. Don Guido Cagnola. Profile of a Young Woman.

Montpellier. Musée Fabre, No. 577. Bust of a Young Man (see BERENSON, in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, ser. iii., vol. xxxvii., p. 208 *sqq.*).

Munich. Old Pinakothek, No. 1,075 (not now shown). The Holy Family.

Settignano. Mr. B. Berenson. Profile of a Young Lady.

Siena. Oratorio di S. Bernardino. The Virgin and Child with two saints. *Fratelli Ugurgieri.* The Virgin and Child (reproduced in *Rassegna d'arte*, iv. 153; the composition adapted from Raphael's "Madonna della Torre").

Turin. Gallery, No. 118. The Holy Family.]

[1] Berlin Museum, No. 109. Bought of Duke di Cellamare by Waagen for about 300 thal. in 1841 (*Kleine Schriften*, Berlin, 1875, p. 23). The name of Peruzzi is justified by the Sienese stamp of the picture, which, however, is also reminiscent of del Pacchia. There is no trace of Peruzzi's boldness or plasticity, but rather an Umbrian prettiness, and something suggesting that school in the drawing of extremities and in the drapery. [* From various features—such as the facial types, the shape of the hands, and the landscape—it seems clear that this is a work by Sodoma. It stands particularly close to the frescoes which Sodoma in 1503–04 executed in the refectory of the convent of S. Anna in Creta, near Pienza. The Umbrian character, which the authors justly note in the Caritas, is also to be found in these frescoes, and is undoubtedly due to the influence of Pinturicchio.]

[2] Florence, Pitti, No. 345. Holy Family. This is a Sienese work without the exact stamp of Peruzzi. [* As pointed out by MORELLI (*Die Galerien Borghese und Doria Panfili*, p. 127), this is surely a work by Granacci.] Venice, Seminario: Penelope spinning. If not by Peruzzi, it is like him, and the name is not inappro-

exclusively to architecture, of his sickness and death in January, 1536, Vasari has a correct account.[1] Peruzzi died comparatively young. He was the last of the great artists of Siena; and if we could devote a few pages to the career of his contemporary and friend Beccafumi, it would be merely for the sake of illustrating the decline which now set in throughout Italy.

priate. [* The editor agrees with MORELLI (*u.s.*, p. 172, n. 1) in ascribing this picture to Beccafumi.] Dublin, National Gallery: formerly No. 48, a Sybil, and No. 56, an allegory of Sculpture. These are very different from works of Peruzzi, and date from the seventeenth century. [* The following paintings by Peruzzi may still be mentioned:

Rome. Galleria Borghese, No. 92. Venus.

S. Ansano a Dofana (near Siena). Pieve. The Virgin and Child.

Siena. Palazzo Pollini. Ceiling frescoes. The Continence of Scipio; the Adoration of the Magi; the Stoning of the Elders.]

[1] VASARI, iv. 605 *sq.* *Tavola alfabetica* and FEA'S *Notizie intorno Raffaele Sanzio*, 8°, Rome, 1822, p. 19.

CHAPTER II

LORENZO DI CREDI AND PIERO DI COSIMO

THE review of Umbrian and Sienese art in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries has proved how much was due to the example of Florence. The progress of the Florentines themselves now courts attention.

We have seen Verrocchio concentrating in his own person all the gifts of the sculptor, the painter, and the scientific draughtsman, and conducting the education of Leonardo, Perugino, and Lorenzo di Credi. Our next step shall be, not to dwell upon the life of da Vinci, which might lead to digressions on the schools of Lombardy, but to sketch that of Credi, who was more constantly connected with the fortunes of his native city.

A diary, curious for its age as well as for the information it contains respecting the habits of a small landed proprietor of Florence in the rise of the fifteenth century, is preserved in the Riccardiana of Florence. It narrates the squabbles and litigation of two farmers; it registers the results of an average year in the purchase of land, the sale of oil and agricultural produce, those of an unsuccessful season, where the landlord is reduced to pawn his "silk-lined coat." It gives the prices of various articles in household use between the years 1405 and 1425. The writer of the diary is Oderigo,[1] the grandfather of Lorenzo di Credi, the father of the goldsmith Andrea, in whose house at Florence Lorenzo was born in 1459.[2] So long as Andrea di Credi lived, his son probably learnt the paternal business, in which he is said to

[1] The diary of Oderigo di Credi has been published in the *Archivio storico*, first series, *u.s.*, vol. iv.

[2] Vasari's account of the birth and education of Credi, previous to the entrance of the latter into Verrocchio's service, is incorrect. See for the proof of the date of his birth the note *postea*.

have excelled, studying design at suitable hours in the workshop and in the Brancacci chapel.[1] But when the boy was left in charge of his mother, Mona Lisa, he became assistant to Verrocchio. One might suppose that his occupation in the atelier of so renowned a sculptor and goldsmith would principally be the chiselling of metal; but he is described by his mother in a tax paper of 1480–81 as "employed in painting," with a salary of twelve florins a year;[2] and this is an additional fact in support of the statement that Verrocchio indiscriminately practised all the sister arts together.[3]

The friendship which Verrocchio contracted for Credi was only disturbed by his death in 1488. It was testified by the appointment of Lorenzo to the duties of his executor, the legacy of all his marbles and artistic properties at Venice and Florence, and the recommendation of his name to the Doge for the completion of the Colleoni monument.[4] To Credi's great honour, he never forgot this kindness, and he remembered the niece of his benefactor in a clause of his will.[5]

The goodness of the man was not belied in his works, which are confined to the delineation of religious subjects, or to portraits. His honesty and steadiness were reflected in pictures of a finish

[1] VASARI, ii. 299. He studied later in the Medici Garden (iv. 258).

[2] See the tax paper in *Tavola alfabetica* (*u.s. ad litt.*), where Credi is further stated to have been, in 1480, 21 years of age. [* A portrait of a man by Lorenzo di Credi, now in the collection of Mr. Widener of Philadelphia, bears at the back the following inscription (in characters stated to be those of the time about 1500):

"Lorenzo di Credi Pittore ecc. te
1488 . ætatis sue 32, VIII."

(see LOESER, in *L'Arte*, iv. 135 *sqq.*, with reproduction). The inscription and the resemblance of the features to those of Vasari's portrait of Lorenzo justify us in assuming that the picture is the self-portrait of Lorenzo; but, as pointed out by Dr. GRONAU, in THIEME and BECKER, *Allgemeines Lexikon*, vii. 73, more credit is undoubtedly to be given to the oldest statement of Credi's age—that of 1480—than to that contained in this inscription.]

[3] Verrocchio's Baptism of Christ has been described in a previous volume (iv. 240 *sqq.*), in which notice is also taken of a picture which has disappeared from S. Domenico of Florence. ALBERTINI also describes three large canvases by Verrocchio containing scenes from the story of Hercules in the "Sala del Consiglio" at the Palazzo Pubblico of Florence (*Memoriale, u.s.*, p. 15).

[4] Verrocchio's will in GAYE, *Carteggio, u.s.*, i. 367.

[5] Credi's will in GAYE, *Carteggio*, i. 372.

so elaborate that Vasari could not help exclaiming "such diligence was not more justifiable than excessive neglect";[1] and his genuine piety found expression in the tender simplicity and melancholy air of Virgins and saints.

The companionship of Perugino was calculated to affect his style, which was not without a shade of Umbrian softness; but he was cold and formal as compared with Vannucci, whilst in contrast with Leonardo he was devoid of genius. Under Verrocchio's care he went through a long course of probation, copying either the sketches of the master or those of Leonardo, and this with such patience and industry that Vasari says you could not tell Lorenzo's imitation from da Vinci's original. We have seen how difficult it is to distinguish the drawings of the three men from each other,[2] and inquired whether panels might not exist illustrative of this phase in Credi's career. Repeated examination only seems to confirm the belief that the Virgin and Child between two attendant angels, a beautiful tempera assigned to Ghirlandaio or Antonio Pollaiuolo, in the National Gallery,[3] may have been executed in the shop of Verrocchio when Leonardo and Credi were employed there; its tone, its clean precision and staid carefulness of handling, the softness of the heads, and the Leonardesque character of the angels, the Infant Christ stamped in the mould of Credi, all tended to strengthen this impression. Lorenzo, in fact, became completely absorbed in da Vinci, and was but slightly altered as regards type or cast of drapery by contact with Perugino.

It was, no doubt, a consequence of Credi's peculiar laboriousness in the treatment of oil medium that he remained altogether an easel-painter. He was so anxious to obtain a pure enamel of colour that he distilled his own oils, ground the earths to an impalpable powder with his own hands, and mixed some thirty shades of various tints on his palette, forbidding his servants to raise dust in his room for fear of soiling them.[4] Proceeding in this

[1] VASARI, iv. 571.

[2] Vasari preserved, as he tells us, many drawings of Credi from clay models upon which linen cloth had been wetted to form the draperies (VASARI, iv. 564).

[3] National Gallery, No. 296. [* Compare on this picture *antea*, iv. 246).]

[4] VASARI, iv. 571.

way, he polished his surface to the smoothness of metal, and hardly altered it by thin glazing. That in this he only followed Leonardo's example is capable of proof. A mysterious darkness, it is true, overhangs this period of da Vinci's history; but taking him at a later time, and looking at the two portraits commonly known as those of Lodovico il Moro and Beatrice d'Este, in the Ambrosiana of Milan, we shall see that they have a smooth brilliancy and slight scumbles in shadow, and that they are an application by the genius of a great man of the technical system familiar to Credi. At a later period Leonardo veiled the means by which he finished his surprising creations with an art that almost baffles observation, and he perfected a theory of glazes applied with supreme mastery in the Mona Lisa. But, even were the portraits of the Ambrosiana to be withdrawn as insufficiently authenticated with respect to time,[1] we should still find means of showing that the origin of Credi's method is in Leonardo. The Luini, whom da Vinci formed, succeed in attaining similar results. Beltraffio might be named in the same class; but Andrea of Milan[2] makes the nearest approach, in a low and cool yellow-red flesh-tone, to Credi. Leonardo, who becomes impenetrable because he is shrouded in the mantle of technical subtlety, is revealed to us by the uniformity of less distinguished talents in Lorenzo, Beltraffio, and Andrea of Milan, who received his tuition.

After the death of Verrocchio, Lorenzo di Credi held a most respectable position amongst the artists of Florence,[3] and on all public occasions when the opinion of experienced men was required to elucidate questions of importance, he and Perugino were invariably to be found together. They were both present at the meeting called in 1491 to deliberate on the completion of the front of S. Maria del Fiore;[4] they both took part in the discussion upon the mode of restoring the lantern of the cathedral in 1498.[5] They

*[1] Even the attribution to Leonardo has, indeed, now been abandoned by most critics.

*[2] *I.e.*, Andrea Solario.

[3] He is registered almost immediately after Leonardo in the roll of the Florentine guild of painters. The date of the entry is, however, illegible (GUALANDI, *Memorie, u.s.*, ser. vi., p. 185).

[4] Com. VASARI, iv. 307.

[5] Com. VASARI (ed. Le Monnier), note to vol. viii., p. 209; GUASTI, *La cupola, u.s.*, p. 119.

were both consulted (1504) as to the place which Michael Angelo's David should occupy.[1] They were in company as appraisers of mosaics by Monte and Gherardo in 1505.[2] But whilst Perugino varied his labours by frequent journeys to Perugia and to Rome, Credi remained a constant resident in Florence. It would be difficult, however, to affix a date to any of the pictures which he produced. The casual mention by Albertini of the Madonna and saints at S. Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi, now in the Louvre, of a St. Bartholomew in Orsanmichele, and of the great Nativity of S. Chiara at the Academy of Arts in Florence, only prove that they were executed before 1508.[3] It is not even advisable to attempt a guess as to the period of Credi's portrait of Verrocchio at the Uffizi, because age and old restoring have given a dull and heavy tone to the features.[4] In Spain, whither copies from Verrocchio and da Vinci were sent,[5] none of the so-called Leonardos are in Credi's manner; nor is Lorenzo's name correctly applied in the cathedrals of Burgos or Granada.

The finest and the oldest of his altarpieces is that of the Cappella del SS. Sacramento in the Duomo of Pistoia, where the Virgin sits with the Babe in a marble court, attended by St. John the Baptist and a canonized Bishop.[6] As Credi probably finished it whilst the examples and lessons of his youth were still vivid in his mind, the figures generally are natural and firm of tread, and strongly reminiscent of da Vinci, the fresh round face of the Virgin and the graceful combination of her movement with that of the Child being an unconscious tribute to the memory of Vannucci. A landscape, seen through the apertures behind the throne, is full of pleasing detail. The clean sharpness of metal is given to minutiæ; the drawing is careful, the proportions are fair; relief and perspective are good, and the colour, of a silver grey, is polished, harmonious, and greatly fused. The naked Child, turn-

[1] GAYE, *Carteggio*, ii., p. 455.

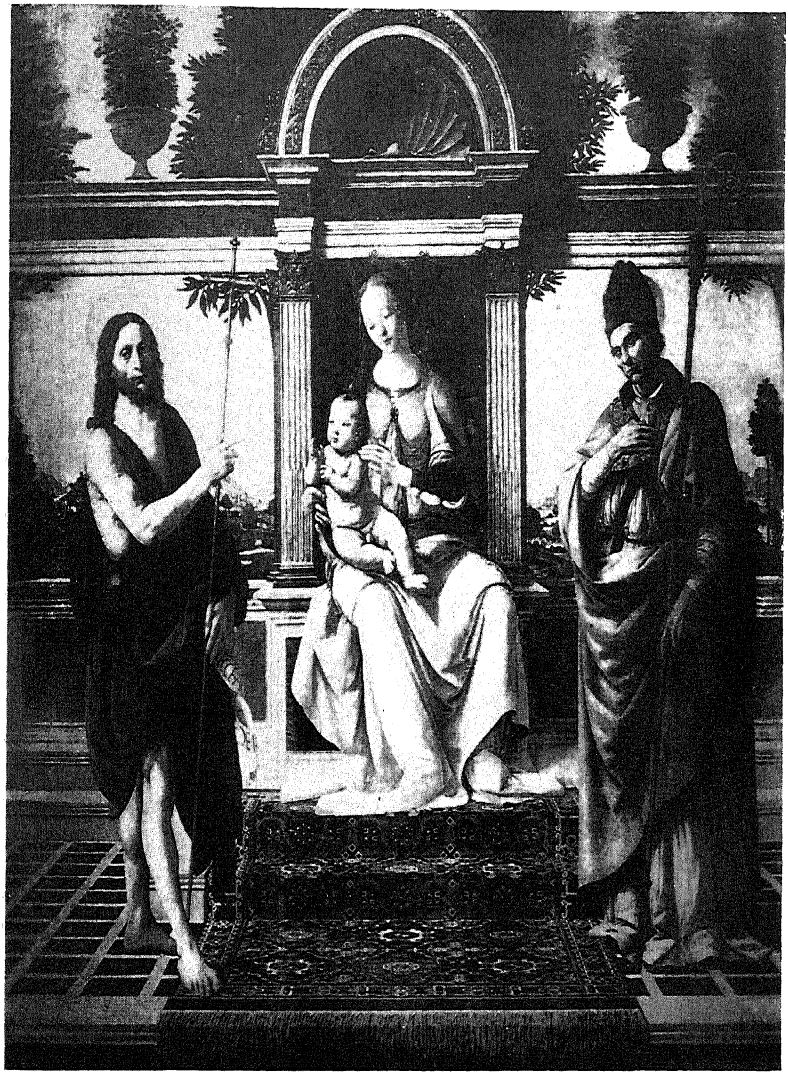
[2] Com. VASARI (ed. Le Monnier), vi. 70, 341–342.

[3] ALBERTINI, *Memoriale, u.s.*, pp. 13, 14, 16. See also VASARI, iv. 567 *sq.*; and RICHA, *Chiese*, ix. 84. [* For the date of the picture now in the Louvre, see *postea*, p. 37, n. 2.]

[4] Uffizi, No. 1,163. It was long called Martin Luther, but is the original, aged about 50, engraved by Vasari (reversed) for his *Lives* (wood, oil, almost life-size).

[5] VASARI, iv. 565 *sq.*

[*6] St. Zeno.



Photo, Alinari

THE VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH SAINTS

BY LORENZO DI CREDI

From a picture in the Duomo, Pistoia

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ing towards the Baptist, who points out the Virgin to her worshippers, is coarse in the extremities, but not too stout.[1] It is doubtful whether Credi preserved this superiority in the Virgin, Child, and saints of S. Maria delle Grazie at Pistoia, which now appears so dim and spotty.[2] Had he always remained up to his first mark, he would have held a higher place in the annals of Florentine art.

There is, indeed, but one instance in which he was equally successful, and that is in the Madonna of the Museum of Mayence, where a pleasing youthfulness adorns the face of the Virgin, and unusual beauty marks the Child, as he turns from his Mother's breast. But the charm is increased by the feeling and truth with which the form is given, by the able rounding obtained by the

[1] Wood, oil, all but life-size. The Virgin is dignified in attitude and mien, her hands delicately formed. There is a youthful freshness in her face. The draperies are Leonardesque. Equally so are the pose and type of the bishop, whose hands are free from Credi's later heaviness; and the dry, bony nude of the Baptist. The action of the latter, strained, though there is power in the head, and force in the searched-out anatomy of the frame and limbs, recalls Verrocchio. The head, with its thin, wavy curls, is also characteristic of the influence exercised on Credi by da Vinci. The flesh is warm yellow in the lights, and cold in the shadows. [* The information concerning the authorship of this picture which is supplied by a contemporary document has already been referred to *antea* (iv., 247, n. 1). It was ordered from Verrocchio (at a price of 60 golden ducats) by the executors of the Bishop Donato dei Medici, who died in 1475. In November, 1485, reference is made to the picture as being, from hearsay, practically finished, and it is further stated that Verrocchio would have finished it six years earlier if he had received the whole of his payment. The *operai* of the Duomo of Pistoia are asked in the document in question to see that Verrocchio is paid in full before the end of the following month of October. Although this makes it certain that the picture was painted in Verrocchio's atelier and under his supervision, it is equally indubitable that the execution is entirely Credi's. A drawing by him for the figure of St. John is in the Louvre (see *Rassegna d' arte*, iv. 98). Credi may also be supposed to have taken an active part in the execution of the monument of Cardinal Niccolò Forteguerri, likewise in the Duomo of Pistoia, for which the model had been prepared by Verrocchio. A drawing by Credi for one of the angels supporting the mandorla in the upper part of this monument is in the British Museum (*cf.* BERENSON, *The Drawings of the Florentine Painters*, i. 43 *sq.*)].

[2] In S. Maria delle Grazie or del Letto, formerly al Ceppo (see VASARI, iv. 566). The Child is in benediction, the saints at the sides, John the Baptist and the kneeling Magdalen, Jerome and the kneeling Martha (wood, oil, figures life-size). [* Credi received a rate of payment for this work on December 10, 1510. See MILANESI, in VASARI, iv. 566, n. 1, referring the document erroneously to the altarpiece in the Duomo.]

fusion of a yellowish flesh-tone into brownish shadows, and by the tasteful application and high finish of borders and festoons of flowers.[1] In the Holy Family of the Borghese Gallery at Rome, Credi shows less strength, but he animates the elegant Virgin, the playful Infant Christ, and the worshipping boy Baptist with a breath of love and tenderness. He composes the group in the Leonardesque fashion, and gives to the nude of the children some of the puffiness which he exaggerated at a later time.[2] All these examples illustrate the character, as well as the style, of Credi. He was of the class which took the name of "*piagnoni*" at Florence, because it agreed with the theory of Savonarola, that everything profane was reprehensible; and Vasari tells us that when the reforming Dominican ordered a holocaust of literary, artistic, and fanciful works at the carnival of 1497 in Florence, Credi was one of those who sacrificed all that did not savour in his drawings of the purest religion.[3] Yet Credi was not of a temper to surrender the world altogether as Fra Bartolommeo had done, nor were his sympathies enlisted in any special manner with the Dominicans; and when the convent of S. Marco quarrelled, in 1507, with Bernardo del Bianco about the price of Fra Bartolommeo's Vision of St. Bernard, Credi was one of the umpires for the purchaser in conjunction with Gherardo, the miniaturist.[4]

[1] Mayence Museum, No. 220. (Wood, oil, all but life-size.) On a parapet behind the group a vase of flowers. Behind the Virgin a red curtain and festoons of flowers. In the Child's left hand a fruit.

In the same gallery, No. 221. Round of the Holy Family, much repainted, but with the impress of Lorenzo's school.

Carlsruhe Gallery, No. 409. Round of the Infant Christ adored by the kneeling Virgin and young Baptist; the stable to the left; a landscape to the right and left. Hair and shadow of neck in the Virgin, white cushion on which the Infant rests, the Baptist's knee, restored (wood, oil). This is an original by Credi, but not equal to that of Mayence.

[2] Rome, Borghese Gallery, No. 433. The slender Virgin is very graceful, supporting the Child on her lap, who leans forward as if to speak with the infant Baptist. She also encircles his neck with her hand. He looks on in prayer; and an open book to the right indicates the seventh chapter of Isaiah: "Behold a Virgin shall conceive and bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel." The drawing, forms, and drapery are of Credi's earlier period, when his style was most redolent of the influence of da Vinci and Verrocchio (wood, oil, round). To the left a vase, and through two windows a landscape view.

[3] VASARI, iv. 179.

[4] MARCHESE, *Memorie, u.s.*, vol. ii., pp. 35–39, 360–361.



Photo, Alinari

THE ADORATION OF THE SHEPHERDS

BY LORENZO DI CREDI

From a picture in the Academy of Arts, Florence

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As years rolled on, and the impressions of his youth became weaker in Credi, he lost some of his early strength in excessive attention to manipulation. The Baptism of Christ of the company del Scalzo, now in S. Domenico di Fiesole, affords an indication of this change, being less satisfactory in the nude, stiffer in movements, and more mannered in form than previous specimens of his skill, though still firmly drawn and highly enamelled, and redolent to a certain extent of Verrocchio's teaching.[1] Still more polished, but perhaps more affected in its softness, is the wonderfully clean and cold Madonna with the Child, between SS. Julian and Nicholas, at the Louvre, in which excessive daintiness of attitude and tread, gaudiness of key, and slight chiaroscuro are symptoms of loss of power.[2] But the most important specimen of Credi in this period of his career is the Nativity at the Academy of Arts in Florence, of which a reproduction accompanies this page.[3] Whereas in the Madonna of the Pistoia Cathedral the nude is drawn with the anatomical research natural to a fellow-student of da Vinci, that of the Nativity only reminds us of Leonardo's pupils. There is something resembling the spirit of Luini in contours which avoid marking bone and muscle, and in the low tones of flesh and drapery. Yet the harmony is good, the handling careful, the drapery well arranged; and the minuteness of the charming landscape is equalled by that of the foreground of rock and grasses. Credi has not left a better instance of the striving in an artist of the sixteenth century to embody religious sentiment. He succeeds in rendering a grave and timid melancholy, and prettily surrounds the Virgin with a guard of angels in whispering converse. A tender and half-sorrowing affection is in the Virgin, on her knees before the Child, and the action of both seems

[1] The colour of the flesh is yellowish and shadowed coolly (mentioned in VASARI, iv. 568); wood, oil, figures all but life-size. Three angels kneel on the left, and in the distance of that side is the Baptist's sermon.

[2] Louvre, No. 1,263, originally at Santa Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi or Cestello (VASARI, iv. 567). Wood, oil, figures life-size. [* This picture was placed over the altar of the Cappella Mascalzoni in the above-mentioned church on February 20, 1494 (GRONAU, *u.s.*, p. 74).]

[3] No. 92 (wood, oil, figures almost life-size). See VASARI, iv. 567 *sq.* [* A drawing for the head of the angel, standing with raised hands behind the Virgin, is in the Albertina at Vienna. See GRONAU, *u.s.*, p. 76 *sq.*]

inspired from Fra Filippo rather than from any other master. The shepherds also might presuppose the study of Ghirlandaio by a later painter of a less rugged fibre. The Baptist is drawn with the soft outlines of Luini, and the St. Joseph is Peruginesque in air and pose.

During the later period of his life Lorenzo's productions preserved a uniformity which leaves little room for fresh remark. His frequent employment as a restorer of old pictures is a proof of the confidence that was placed in his experience.[1] The honourable station which he held led to his appointment on many occasions as valuer of pictures by other masters.[2] He outlived the terrors of the siege of Florence in 1527, retired into the hospital of S. Maria Nuova on an annuity in 1531,[3] and died on January 12, 1537.[4]

The following list is a necessary addition:

Florence. Orsanmichele. On a pilaster to the left of the altar (altare Gregoriano). St. Bartholomew with a knife and a book, very much clouded by dirt (VASARI, iv. 567; ALBERTINI, *Mem.*, p. 14; and RICHA, *Chiese*, i. 26).[5]

Florence. S. Maria del Fiore. Sacristy of the canons. Figure of the Archangel Michael, executed about 1523; feeble and of a reddish tone (VASARI, iv. 568, 576).

Same church. Chapel in Tribuna della Croce. Figure of St. Joseph; weak and much injured; wood, oil (VASARI, iv. 567).

Florence. Uffizi, No. 1,313. Magdalen at the feet of Christ. *No.* 1,168. Virgin and St. John mourning. Wood, oil. Both genuine.

[1] We have seen (vol. iv., p. 88) that he restored, in 1501, an altarpiece by Angelico in S. Domenico of Fiesole. In 1524 he performed the same operation at S. Maria del Fiore, on the Hawkwood of Uccello, the Nicholas di Tolentino by Castagno, six Apostles by an unknown hand, and two sepulchres (of Fra Luigi Marsili and Cardinal Pietro Corsini). Annot. VASARI, iv. 568.

[2] 1514 he appraises Ridolfo Ghirlandaio's pictures in the cappella de' Signori at the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence (VASARI, annot., iv. 575). 1517 he valued a statue by Baccio Bandinelli (TEMANZA, *Life of Sansovino, u.s.*, p. 7, and annot. VASARI, iv. 575). In 1508 he coloured a crucifix by Benedetto da Maiano (VASARI, iv. 568, 575), and was witness to the will of Cronaca.

[3] GAYE, *Carteggio*, i. 374, and annot. VASARI, iv. 569, 576. His will is dated 1531. See *antea*.

[4] *Tav. alfab., u.s., ad lit.*

* [5] A study for this picture is in the Louvre (BERENSON, *Florentine Drawings*, No. 89).

No. 1,217. Bust likeness of a youth, supposed to be Alessandro Braccesi (?), of an olive tone, but injured by restoring (wood, oil).[1] *No.* 1,287. Round of the Holy Family, Leonardesque in arrangement, and soft, but somewhat poor, owing to absence of the requisite relief (wood, oil, figures half life-size). *No.* 24. Round of the Virgin adoring the Child, attended by an angel; rubbed down, but in the character of Credi (wood, oil, figures half life-size). *No.* 1,160. Annunciation, with three subjects in dead colour below—*e.g.*, the Creation of Eve, the Original Sin, and the Expulsion (wood, oil, small figures); genuine. *No.* 1,314. Annunciation (wood, oil); genuine. *No.* 1,311. The Saviour appears to the Magdalen as the Gardener (wood, oil, small figures); very pretty and careful. (See the replica, almost equally good, at the Louvre, *postea.*)

Florence. Pitti, No. 354. Holy Family (wood, oil, round), reminiscent of Credi in composition and manner, but of a hard, low tinge of colour. Something in it reminds one of Piero di Cosimo, but it seems of Credi's school; yet the painter is not Sogliani, nor is it Michele di Ridolfo, both of whom were Credi's pupils (VASARI, iv. 570; v. 123; and vi. 543). But we know nothing of other disciples—Tommaso di Stefano, Gian Jacopo di Castrocaro (registered in 1525 in the Florentine guild, GUALANDI, *Memorie*, ser. vi.), Antonio del Ceraiuolo (VASARI, iv. 566, 570; and vi. 543; and GUALANDI, *Memorie*, ser. vi., 176 and following), or Giovanni di Benedetto Cianfanini, recorded as part author of the St. Michael in S. Maria del Fiore (annot. VASARI, iv. 568). A picture of the same class is that of the Borghese Gallery (*postea*).

Florence. Academy of Arts, No. 94. Originally in the SS. Annunziata de' Servi. Nativity. Genuine. (Wood, oil.)

Castiglione Fiorentino. Collegiate church. Chapel to the right of the choir. Nativity (wood, oil, life-size figures). Vasari speaks of a tavola that was sent to Castiglione, by Francesco, canon of S. Maria del Fiore. It may be the piece here noticed (VASARI, iv. 570). The Virgin kneels to the right before the pent-house, the Child on straw on the ground, with St. Joseph on his knees to the left. This is genuine, neatly arranged, pretty, but a little feeble withal.

Rome. Galleria Borghese, No. 439. Round of the Nativity—*i.e.*, the Infant on the ground between the kneeling Virgin and St. Joseph (wood, oil). This suggests the same reflections as the Holy Family at the Pitti (No. 354).

*[1] This picture should rather be given to Perugino. Compare MORELLI, *Die Galerien Borghese und Doria Panfili*, p. 127.

Venice. Academy, No. 49. Round of the Holy Family, once in the Albani collection (wood, oil). See *antea*, Raffaellino del Garbo.[1]

Turin. Museum, No. 115. Bequeathed by the Barollo family. The Virgin offers a bunch of grapes to the Infant, naked on her lap; on a window-sill a vase of flowers, and through the opening a landscape. This is a scene of pleasing maternal affection, by Credi in his good period; a mixture of the schools of Leonardo, Verrocchio, and Botticelli—*e.g.*, as regards types (wood, oil, figures half life-size). Colour, of good impasto. *No.* 116. Virgin and Child (wood, oil), later in date than the foregoing, and not so fine, but still graceful. The Virgin's head scaled.

Forlì. Galleria Communale, No. 130. Female portrait, three-quarters to the right, originally fine, in Florentine dress, Leonardesque, noble, and high bred, said to be Catherine Sforza (?), greatly injured by restoring, especially in the flesh parts (wood, oil). In one hand, a flower, the other resting on a vase.[2]

Naples. Museum, Sala XV., No. 5. Nativity, the Child on the ground between the kneeling Virgin and St. Joseph, two angels attending (wood, oil); genuine.

Munich. Pinakothek, No. 1,017. Round of the Nativity, almost a replica (reversed) of No. 1,287 at the Uffizi (wood, oil, all but life-size); fine, but somewhat abraded, and consequently cold.

Schleissheim. Gallery, formerly *No.* 1,144. Virgin and Child in Credi's manner, but repainted. *No.* 1,138. Same subject, with Massacre of the Innocents in distance, by some German painter of the sixteenth century.

Berlin. Museum, No. 103. Magdalen penitent, once in S. Chiara of Florence (VASARI, iv. 568) (wood, figure life-size). A good example of the master. *No.* 100. (Wood). Nativity. Genuine. *Nos.* 89, Nativity,[3] and 92, Adoration of the Kings.[4] Less attractive and perhaps school pieces.

Dresden. Gallery, No. 22. The Virgin, with the Infant kissing the young Baptist (small); not by Credi, but by a third-class follower of Botticelli and Filippino.

*[1] *Antea*, iv. 305, the number of the picture is wrongly given as 55, and its provenance as the Manfrini Gallery.

*[2] It has lately been contended, as it would appear with some reason, that this is a portrait of Ginevra de' Benci. See COOK, *Reviews and Appreciations* (London, 1912), p. 42.

*[3] Now on loan to the Gallery of the Hochschule at Charlottenburg.

*[4] Now on loan to the Schlesisches Museum, Breslau.

Altenburg. Lindenau Gallery, No. 104. (Wood, tempera, renewed in oil). Virgin adoring the Child. School of Botticelli.

Louvre. Musée Napoléon III. Ex-Campana, No. 218.[1] Christ appearing to the Magdalen; weaker replica of that of the Uffizi (see *antea*). Original, but abraded. *No.* 219.[2] Annunciation; same character. *Nos.* 220, 221,[3] of the school.

London. National Gallery, No. 593. Virgin and Child (wood). *No.* 648. The Virgin adoring the Infant Christ (wood), formerly in Northwick Gallery. These are good, genuine, and well preserved pictures.

London. Late Barker Collection. (1) Virgin and Child in an interior, with a distance seen through windows; the Virgin offers a pomegranate to the Child. Genuine and good.[4] (2) Figure of a saint with a banner and shield, all but life-size. Authentic, but not of Credi's best.[5] (3) Virgin and Child, the young Baptist kneeling to the left. Fine and original.[6] (4) The Virgin and Child between St. Sebastian and John the Baptist; life-size, good, and by the master, but a little rubbed and retouched.[7] (5) Round of the Virgin, Child, and Baptist; one-third life-size, by Credi, but weakened perhaps by cleaning and retouching.[8] All on wood, in oil.

London. Lord Overstone.[9] Small altarpiece, arched at top, with the Coronation of the Virgin in the upper part, two erect and two kneeling saints in a landscape below, and Christ in the Tomb between SS. Francis and Anthony. This was formerly in the Rogers collection. Very delicate and careful (wood).

London. Duke of Westminster. (No. 95 at Manchester). Small Coronation of the Virgin, by a Florentine following Credi's manner (wood).

*1 No. 1,264 in the current catalogue of the Louvre.

*2 No. 1,602 in the current catalogue of the Louvre.

*3 The former picture (The Holy Family) is now lent to the Gallery at Angers, and the latter (The Virgin adoring the Child) to the Gallery at Montpellier (No. 654).

*4 Sold at the Barker sale, June 6, 1874 (No. 74), to Mr. Rutley.

*5 Now in the collection of the Earl of Rosebery.

*6 Sold at the Barker sale in 1874 (No. 73) to Mr. Octavius E. Coope, of Rochetts, near Brentwood, and at the Coope sale (May 6, 1910, No. 61) to Mr. Vicars. Reproduced in the illustrated catalogue of the Coope sale.

*7 Now in the Dresden Gallery, No. 15. Another Credi at Dresden (No. 14, The Holy Family) was also in the Barker collection (No. 76 in the 1874 sale), but is not noticed by the authors.

*8 Probably identical with No. 471 in the Barker sale, June 21, 1879 (bought by Mr. Dyer). *9 Now in the collection of Lady Wantage at Lockinge House.

Oxford. Gallery. (Wood). A feeble Virgin and Child; of the school.

Liverpool, Walker Art Gallery, Roscoe Collection, No. 25. Virgin suckling the Child in a landscape (wood, small); formerly attributed to Ghirlandaio, but a schoolpiece from Credi's atelier. Injured.[1]

The life of Piero di Cosimo, the contemporary of Credi and Raffaellino, affords Vasari matter for an amusing and perhaps overdrawn sketch of character.

Piero is said in his youth to have been industrious and clever, but absent, solitary, and given to castle-building. At a later

[1] The following, mentioned by Vasari and others, may in part be comprised in the foregoing list; they are at all events not traceable at present, or they are missing: Florence, portraits of Credi, Perugino, and Girolamo Benivieni (VASARI, iv. 566 *sq.*). [* The portrait of Credi by himself may be identified with that in the Widener collection at Philadelphia; see *antea*, p. 31, n. 2; and LOESER, *u.s.*, p. 136 *sq.*] Florence, Company of S. Bastiano: Virgin, Child, St. Sebastian and other saints (VASARI, iv. 567) (?), may be the altarpiece in the late Barker collection. Montepulciano, S. Agostino: Crucified Redeemer between the Virgin and Evangelist (*Tavola, ib., ib., ib.*). [* Still noticed by BROGI (1862–5) as *in situ* (*Inventario generale degli oggetti d' arte della Provincia di Siena*. p. 287).

Florence, Casa Ottaviano de' Medici: Round of the Virgin (VASARI, iv. 568). S. Friano, tavola (*circa* 1525): Virgin, Child, and saints (*ib., ib.*, 568). S. Matteo or Hospital di Lelmo: Marriage of the Virgin (*ib., ib., ib.*). Casa Tolomei, via de' Ginori: Virgin and Child (annot. VASARI, iv. 569). Casa Antonio de' Ricasoli, Unfinished picture of the Passion (VASARI, iv. 570). S. Pier Maggiore, Cappella Albizzi: Crucifixion (RICHA, *Chiese*, i. 146). [* We add the following list of extant pictures by Credi, not noticed by the authors:

Berlin. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, No. 80. Portrait of a Young Woman.

Cambridge. Fitzwilliam Museum, No. 125. St. Sebastian.

Cleveland (U.S.A.). Holden collection. The Virgin and Child (see M. LOGAN-BERENSON, in *Rassegna d'arte*, vii. 2, with reproduction).

Dresden. Gallery, No. 13. The Virgin and Child and the little St. John.

Florence. Uffizi, No. 34. Portrait of a Young Man. *No.* 1,528. The Virgin and Child with the little St. John and two angels (a sketch for the composition, differing from the form which it finally received) is in the Biblioteca Marucelliana at Florence; see FERRI, in *Bollettino d' arte*, iii. 316, with reproduction). *No.* 3,452. Venus.

Hamburg. Late Weber collection, No. 32. The Assumption of St. Louis.

Munich. Pinakothek, No. 1,016A. The Virgin and Child with an angel.

Paris. M. Gustave Dreyfus. The Virgin and Child (reproduced in *Les Arts*, January, 1908, p. 7).

Rome. Late Sterbini collection. The Assumption of the Magdalen (see VENTURI, in *L'Arte*, viii. 433 *sq.*, with reproduction).

Strassburg. University Gallery, No. 215. The Virgin and Child.

Venice. Galleria Querini-Stampalia. The Virgin and Child and the infant St. John.

period he became a misanthrope; would not admit anyone to his room either to clean it or to see his pictures; never had a regular meal, but, if hungry, ate of hard eggs, which he cooked half a hundred at a time. He was an enemy to all artificial cultivation of men as well as of plants. His eccentricities increased with age, so that in his latter days he was querulous and intolerant, subject to fits of fright if he heard the distant growl of thunder; impatient of ordinary noises, such as the crying of children, the coughing of men, ringing of bells, chanting of friars, and buzzing of flies. During a paralysis which made his last hours burdensome, he would inveigh against all doctors, apothecaries, and nurses, suspecting them of starving their patients; and he was heard to contrast the melancholy nature of death by prolonged sickness with the happy and speedy one of the criminal who goes to his end in fresh air, surrounded by the sympathy, and comforted by the prayers, of the people.[1]

Piero's life, however, has a much higher interest for the historian than that which may be created by the narrative of his foibles. He was the elder companion of Fra Bartolommeo and Mariotto Albertinelli, in the atelier of Cosimo Rosselli; and the master of Andrea del Sarto.

The income-paper of his father, Lorenzo di Piero, drawn up in 1480, enables us to correct Vasari's chronology, and describes Piero as born in 1462, and as an assistant without pay in the shop of Cosimo Rosselli.[2] Cosimo, having about this time been called to Rome by orders from Sixtus IV., was accompanied by Piero, who helped him in the portraits and landscapes of his frescoes.[3]

[1] VASARI, iv. 131 and following.

[2] *Portata al Catasto*, in *Tav. alfab., u.s.*, art. Piero. [* The statement in an earlier *portata*—of 1470—agrees with that contained in the *portata* of 1480. See E. STEINMANN, *Die Sixtinische Kapelle*, i. 395, *n.* 1).] We are indebted to Signor Gaetano Milanesi for the following, in addition, respecting Piero's family: Antonio begets Piero. Piero begets Lorenzo Chimenti, painter, born 1436, registered in Florentine guild (GUALANDI, ser. vi., *u.s.*, p. 180), and Baldo, registered in the same guild, in 1450 (*ib.*, *ib.*, *ib.*). Lorenzo begets Piero (di Cosimo), Giovanni, born 1464; Francesco, born 1474; Raffaello, born 1475; and Bastiano, born 1478.

[3] VASARI, iii. 189 and iv. 132. [* Vasari definitely ascribes the landscape in the Sermon on the Mount to Piero di Cosimo, and for reason of style the Destruction of Pharaoh may in the main be considered as the work of this artist. On Piero's activity in the Sixtine chapel, compare STEINMANN, *u.s.*, i. 392 *sqq.*)]

In February, 1485, Rosselli had returned to Florence, and was in the employ of the nuns of S. Ambrogio with the future Fra Bartolommeo, a mere child, as apprentice.[1]

It is not improbable that Piero was then chief journeyman to Cosimo, for Vasari leads us to believe that the connection lasted till Rosselli's death (1506); and Piero, at all events, continued the art of his teacher.[2] He may therefore be considered as partner in the authorship of several altarpieces in S. Spirito at Florence, in which the styles of Ghirlandaio and Filippino are mingled with that of Cosimo Rosselli,[3] in a Virgin and saints at S. Ambrogio,[4] and in a Virgin and Child at S. Agostino of Lucca, attributed to Zacchia.[5] The last-mentioned picture is, in truth, so like Piero's own in raw tinge of red colour and in aspect of figures, that little doubt can be entertained as to its genuineness. With regard to the period of execution, as in respect of dates connected with the actions and creations of Piero, the scantiest intelligence exists. So vague, indeed, is the prospect that a concrete shape can only be given to Piero's performances by registering a number of them in succession, the sequence of which may be guessed at, according as the technical system points to material progress or to the lapse of intervals of time.

An important, though hitherto unnoticed, production in a solitary church of the Casentino may, under these circumstances,

[1] See, *postea*, the documents in support of these statements.

[2] Piero was one of those who gave opinions as to the place of Michael Angelo's David in 1503 (GAYE, *Carteggio*, ii. 455).

[3] (1) S. Spirito, 27th chapel in the left transept: Virgin, Child, and two angels between SS. Thomas and Peter (FANTOZZI, *Guida, u.s.*, p. 687, catalogued this, in the school of Ghirlandai). In the predella are the Incredulity of St. Thomas, the Annunciation, and a Miracle. On the step of the throne is the date: "MCCCCLXXXII." [* In determining the authorship of this picture, it must be remembered that Piero di Cosimo, at any rate during the greater part of 1482, was painting in the Sixtine chapel.] (2) Same church, 30th chapel in left transept: Virgin and Child with two angels between SS. Bartholomew and Nicholas of Bari, and two kneeling friars (according to FANTOZZI, *u.s.*, by A. Pollaiuolo); pale and dim in tone. (3) Same church, 25th chapel in left transept: Virgin, Child, and two angels between SS. Bartholomew and John Evangelist (manner of Botticelli, says Fantozzi). On the step of the throne a Crucifixion. The two latter not so good as the first.

[4] See *antea*, iv. 367, note 3. The picture is in the sacristy.

[5] See *antea*, iv. 367.



Photo, Alinari

THE VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH SAINTS

BY PIERO DI COSIMO

From a picture in the Spedale degli Innocenti, Florence

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repay attention. The subject is the Virgin and Child enthroned in a landscape between the erect SS. Peter and Paul, and the kneeling Jerome and Francis. The place is the high-altar of S. Pietro al Terreno near Figline. Whilst on the one hand we recognize the influence of Cosimo Rosselli's atelier, and chiefly the system of Piero di Cosimo in the general appearance of the panel, we are reminded on the other of Mariotto's or Bartolommeo's early efforts by the superior character of the St. Francis, and the light gay tone and spring-freshness of the landscape. It is possible that two hands should have been put on to hasten the completion of the piece, and that one of them should be the future Dominican; possible, also, that Piero di Cosimo did it unassisted, having already taken some distinct peculiarities from his younger school-companions. Be this as it may, the Madonna of S. Pietro al Terreno is dryly and firmly touched in oil at one painting, with rawish low flesh-tones shadowed in opaque, olive brown, and draperies of vitreous and sharp tints. A Leonardesque element is observable in the air and slender neck of the Virgin, and in the puffy forms of the Infant. Without absolute lack of feeling most of the saints are incorrectly drawn, short, bony, and not free from vulgarity. The dresses are double in stuff, and overladen with complicated folds. The author, according to local belief, is Ridolfo Ghirlandaio; but the stamp and handling are less his than those of Granacci, albeit the latter is more Michaelangelesque.[1] What speaks most in favour of Piero di Cosimo is the likeness between this and another Virgin amongst saints at the Uffizi,[2] described by Vasari at the altar of the Tedaldi in the SS. Annunziata de' Servi. The Madonna on a pedestal looks up to the dove with a movement in the spirit of Fra Bartolommeo, and true to the principles of high art. St. John Evangelist, erect on the left, is a counterpart of the St. Peter at S. Pietro al Terreno. In each of the *dramatis personæ* curt proportion, heavy bone, and coarse extremities are noticeable, and the colouring is abruptly con-

*[1] This picture has not been seen by the editor. Mr. BERENSON ascribes it to Bugiardini (*Florentine Painters*, p. 124).

[2] Uffizi, No. 81. Wood, oil. The saints about the Virgin are SS. John Evangelist, Philip (beato), Antonino, and Peter. Margaret and Catherine kneeling in front. [* The subject of this picture is the Immaculate Conception.]

trasted and unmellow. The execution is related to Credi's, but has more roughness and strength, and a darker key of shadow. It would show that Piero tried to rival Credi in the enamel of his surface, without his patience and by the copious use of more liquid colours. Hence the crystalline or amber lucidity, *e.g.*, of the fine bust portrait at the Uffizi, catalogued under Piero's name, where the ruddy and smooth impasto is veiled with the thinnest sort of glaze, and recalls del Sarto, Ridolfo, and Granacci.[1] Hence, also, the polish of his Madonna amongst saints in the sacristy of the Innocenti at Florence, one of his best altarpieces, yet one in which his defects are prominent in combination with a certain imitation, or rather exaggeration, of the types of Filippino.[2] We might follow this vein in Piero further, citing, at Florence, a small St. Catherine in the Lombardi Gallery,[3] a fragment of a Holy Family in the Pianciatichi collection,[4] and at the Louvre,[5] a Coronation of the Virgin of more than usual feebleness. Piero, however, did not confine himself to holy subjects. He treated with evident pleasure such portions of classic fable as might enable him to display the study of animal life in natural or fantastic shapes, or that of recondite costume or ornament.[6] He seldom neglected an occasion of exhibiting himself in this light, as in the lost predella of the Madonna at the Servi, where St. Margaret was to be seen issuing from the belly of the serpent;[7] but he most frequently dealt with such themes in the decoration of cars for festivals, in suites of rooms, in single panels, or in the accessories to mythological incidents,[8] his model in this as well as in the application of novelties in the manipulation of oils and

[1] Uffizi, No. 3,413. Bust of a man in a black cap, three-quarters to the left, with a dark dress and a white frill.

[2] Wood, oil, figures almost life-size. Virgin and Child enthroned between saints, St. Rosa on her knees to the left, offering roses to the Infant, and St. Catherine, a caricature from Filippino, kneeling to the right. Six angels, with garlands on their heads, kneel smiling at the sides of the Madonna. Two others hold back the tapestry above her head. Distance, a fair landscape (VASARI, iv. 140 *sq.*). [* This picture is now in the Gallery of the Spedale degli Innocenti.]

[3] Wood, oil, small and in good preservation.

[4] No. 44. Life-size. Virgin, Child, and St. Joseph called Mariotto Albertinelli. Wood, oil. A piece wanting on the left side. [* Present whereabouts unknown.]

[5] Louvre, No. 1,416. Supposed to have been in S. Friano at Florence (VASARI, iv. 141). Figures life-size, in oil, on wood.

[6] VASARI, iv. 138. [7] *Ib., ib., ib.* [8] *Ib., ib.*, 134 *sqq.*



The Death of Procris.

mediums being Leonardo da Vinci, whose genius and versatility were envied by all his contemporaries, and whose influence was so extraordinary that it is difficult to treat of any painter of his time without mentioning his name.

Examples of this phase in Piero are scarce; but his fancy is fairly illustrated in the Wedding of Perseus disturbed,[1] the Sacrifice to Jove for the safety of Andromeda,[2] and the two rescues of Andromeda[3] in the Uffizi, in which the compositions are rich in episodes and action, in strange dresses, panoplies, and other naturalistic details, but where also the figures are somewhat affected, paltry, and pinched. Nor is the technical handling constantly the same. Instead of colour in strata, of strong lucid impasto, instead of abrupt contrasts of key, with firm lines of demarcation in dresses, the tones are all fused vaguely into each other, so that a gaudy and glossy mist overspreads the surfaces. The landscapes, however, remain rich and precise in minutiæ, as if by a Ferrarese, without atmosphere, though in harmony as regards tint with the rest of the work. One might suppose that as Piero grew old he was tempted to follow in the footsteps of his own pupil Andrea del Sarto, and that his cloudiness of contours had its origin in that way.

But his mythological pictures have not invariably the character of those we have been considering. The Death of Procris in the National Gallery[4] is free from exaggeration of fancy. It is a half-tempera of low key in flesh-tone, done with ease, fairly select in forms, and chastened in drawing, superior in every respect to the Venus and Mars,[5] or to the earlier "Meeting of Christ and the Baptist," in the Gallery of Berlin.[6]

[1] Uffizi, No. 84. Perseus is represented petrifying his enemies with the head of Medusa. Wood, oil.

[2] Uffizi, No. 82 (VASARI, iv. 139). Wood, oil.

[3] Uffizi, No. 83 and No. 1,312 (VASARI, iv. 139). Wood, oil.

[4] National Gallery, No. 698, from the Lombardi collection. Wood, figures half the life-size.

[5] Berlin Museum, No. 107. Wood (VASARI, iv. 140).

[6] Berlin Museum, No. 93. Wood, small. [* It is difficult to uphold the name of Piero di Cosimo for this work. It is now officially catalogued under "Workshop of Andrea del Verrocchio." The list of extant works by Piero may be considerably extended—*e.g.* :

Berlin. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, No. 204. The Adoration of the Shepherds.

Borgo San Lorenzo. Chiesa del Crocifisso. The Virgin and Child with SS. Thomas and John the Baptist (see GAMBA, in *Rivista d' Arte*, iii. 253 *sqq.* with reproduction).

Chantilly, Musée Condé, No. 13. Bust of Cleopatra (mentioned by VASARI, iv. 144; the inscription, "Simonetta Ianuensis Vespuccia," is a later addition. Compare FRIZZONI, *Arte italiana del rinascimento*, p. 249 *sq.*; HORNE, *Botticelli*, p. 54).

Dresden. Gallery, No. 20. The Holy Family with St. John the Baptist and angels (*cf. antea*, v. 114).

Dulwich. Gallery. No. 258. Portrait of a Young Man.

Fiesole. S. Francesco. The Immaculate Conception (bearing a false signature: "Pier di Cosimo, 1480"; *cf.* BERENSON, *The Drawings of the Florentine Painters*, i. 131; CARMICHAEL, *Francia's Masterpiece*, London, 1909, p. 152 *sq.*). Mentioned by VASARI (iv. 141). Two studies for this composition are in the Uffizi (BERENSON, *u.s.*, Nos. 1855, 1856; reproduced in KNAPP, *Piero di Cosimo*, p. 15 *sq.*).

The Hague. Mauritshuis, No. 254: Portrait of Giuliano da San Gallo. *No.* 255: Portrait of Francesco Giamberti (mentioned by VASARI, iv. 144; see FRIZZONI, *u.s.*, p. 249 *sqq.*).

London. National Gallery, No. 895. Portrait of an Armed Man. *Mr. R. H. Benson.* Hylas and the Nymphs. *Mr. T. Humphrey Ward* (1909). Half-length of St. John the Evangelist. *Earl of Plymouth.* Bust of a Young Man (reproduced in KNAPP, *u.s.*, p. 100). *Mr. Charles Ricketts.* Battle of the Centaurs and Lapithæ (see HORNE, in the *Architectural Review*, 1902, p. 61 *sqq.*, with reproductions). *Mr. A. E. Street.* The Virgin adoring the Child (*cf. antea*, v. 88). *Mr. H. Oppenheimer.* Minerva and the Flute.

Lyons, late Aynard Coll. The Virgin and Child (tondo). Profile of St. John Baptist (sold at the Aynard sale, Paris, December 1, 1913, Nos. 61 and 60).

Naples, Museum Sala XV., No. 3. The Virgin and Child with St. John the Baptist (given by the authors, *antea*, iv. 305, to the school of Raffaellino).

Newbattle Abbey. Marquess of Lothian. Mythological scene.

Newlands Manor (Hampshire). Colonel Cornwallis-West. The Visitation with SS. Nicholas of Bari and Anthony the Abbot (painted for the chapel of Gino Capponi in S. Spirito, at Florence; VASARI, iv. 133); reproduced in KNAPP *u.s.* (Plate I.). A sketch for the principal group is in the Uffizi (BERENSON, *u.s.*, No. 1853; reproduced in KNAPP, *u.s.*, p. 43).

New York. Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 92: Hunting scene. *No.* 93: Returning from the Hunt (both reproduced in the *Burlington Magazine*, x. 333).

Paris. Louvre, No. 1,662. The Virgin and Child.

Philadelphia. Mr. John G. Johnson. The Virgin and Child (fragment of an altarpiece).

Rome. Galleria Borghese, No. 329. The Judgment of Solomon. No. 343: The Virgin and the infant St. John adoring the Child in the presence of two angels. *Galleria Corsini.* The Magdalen reading (from the Baracco collection).

St. Petersburg. Prince Nicholas of Leuchtenberg. The Adoration of the Infant Christ (*cf. antea*, v. 116). *Princess Eugénie of Oldenburg.* The Virgin and Child.

Stockholm. National Museum, No. 1,788. The Virgin and Child and the infant St. John. *Collection of the King.* The Virgin and Child (see SIRÉN, *Dessins*

Vasari alone authorizes us to believe that Piero di Cosimo died in 1521.[1]

et tableaux de la renaissance italienne dans les collections de Suède [Stockholm, 1902], p. 80 *sqq.*, with reproduction).

Strassburg. Gallery, No. 216A. The Virgin and Child with the infant St. John (see *antea*, v. 88, n. 5). *No.* 216B: The Story of Prometheus.

Vienna. Prince Liechtenstein. The Virgin and Child with the infant St. John (reproduced in KNAPP, *u.s.*, p. 84).]

[1] VASARI, iv. 143. The following, noticed by Vasari, are missing: *Florence*, S. Marco, novitiate: A Virgin erect with the Child in her arms, in oil (iv. 133). S. Spirito, cappella Gino Capponi, panel: Visitation with SS. Nicholas and Anthony, the latter in spectacles (*ib.*, *ib.*, *ib.*). [* Not missing; *cf. antea.*] Guardaroba del Duca Cosimo: A marine monster (*ib.*, *ib.*, 138). *Fiesole*, S. Francesco: Conception (*ib.*, *ib.*, 141). RUMOHR speaks of a picture in the church inscribed: "Pier' di Cosimo, 1480" (*Forsch.*, ii. 352); but this also is not to be found, especially as Rumohr does not give the subject. [*Cf. antea.*] *Florence*, Casa Gio. Vespucci: Bacchanals (VASARI, iv. 141). In possession of Francesco da S. Gallo, a Portrait of Piero, and by Piero a head of Cleopatra, a likeness of Giuliano da S. Gallo, and another of Francesco Giamberti (*ib.*, *ib.*, 144). [* The three last-mentioned works are preserved; *cf. antea.*] Richa assigns to Piero di Cosimo the following: *Florence*, S. Spirito, Cappella Torrigiani: Assumption (RICHA, *Chiese*, ix. 20). Cappella Bini: Transfiguration (*ib.*, *ib.*, 26). Cappella de' Bettoni: Christ risen from the Dead (*ib.*, *ib.*, 28). These three are by one hand, not by Piero di Cosimo, but by Pier Francesco di Sandro, named by VASARI (v. 58) a follower of Ridolfo Ghirlandaio and Andrea del Sarto, whose painting is pale and washy, and whose figures are long, lean, and lifeless.

*

CHAPTER III

FRA BARTOLOMMEO DELLA PORTA

FRA BARTOLOMMEO, who was called Bartolommeo di Pagholo del Fattorino, before he joined the Dominican Order, was apprentice to Cosimo Rosselli. His uncles, Jacopo and Giusto di Jacopo, settled in 1469–70 at Suffignano, a village near Florence, and lived there as agricultural labourers, his father Pagholo pursuing the restless calling of a muleteer.[1]

Towards the close of 1478 Pagholo settled at Florence, having saved a small competence with which he bought a house and garden in S. Pier Gattolino.[2]

The two mules, which had contributed to his fortune, found a gentle repose in the stables of the new home, whilst their master improved his condition in the business of a carrier.

[1] These facts are made clear from the *Portate al Catasto* of Giusto in 1469 and 1487, from which, as well as from that of Paolo (1480-81), we take the following genealogy:

Piero begets Jacopo. Jacopo, by his second wife, Margareta (born 1399), begets Paolo (born 1418), married to Andrea (born 1448, died 1487) and Giusto, (born 1433), and Jacopo (born 1435), married Maddalena (born 1445). Paolo, muleteer, begets: Bartolommeo, born 1475 [* for "1475" read probably "1472"; see *postea*, p. 51, n. 1], died 1517; Piero, afterwards a priest, born 1477; Domenico, born 1479, died 1486; and Michele, born 1480 (favoured by Signor Gaetano Milanesi). Vasari is therefore wrong in stating that Fra Bartolommeo was born at Savignano (iv. 175), in which place no trace of the family can be discovered; and it is more likely that he was of Suffignano, where his uncles lived.

[2] In a "protocollo" drawn up by Ser Jacopo di Bartolommeo de' Camerotti (*Archiv. Gen. de' Contratti di Firenze*, 1477-1480), we find the following:

"Anno 1478. die octava Sept. Andreas quondam Gabriellis Vichi, populi S. Petri in Selva de Castiglia, pro se atque suis heredibus dedit, vendidit, Paulo Jacobi Pieri vecturali, populi sancti felicis in platea ementi pro se atque suis heredibus, unam domum cum palchis saliis, cameris, et horto, puteo, trogolo &c. positam Florentie in populo S. Petri in Gattolino, cum a primo via &c. pro pretio et nomine pretii florenor. auri centum quinquaginta novem et medium unius floreni" (favoured by Gaetano Milanesi).

Bartolommeo, who was to become celebrated in the annals of Florentine art, was three years old when these events occurred, and in 1480 was the eldest of four children.[1] No doubt the question speedily arose, what was to be done with the boys, particularly as Pagholo at the time was of an age above threescore. Benedetto da Maiano, the sculptor, who was consulted on this point, suggested that little Baccio—for so the name was shortened—should be bound to Cosimo Rosselli.[2] The suggestion was

[1] *Arch. di Firenze, Portate al Catasto del* 1480–81. *Quart. di S. Spirito, Gonfale Ferza* 451.

Pagholo d' Jachopo di Piero, abita in detto quartiere e gonfalone. Non a avuta più gravezza, ma perchè a comperato beni però la do questa iscritta. O atteso andare co i muli. Sustanze. Una casa per mio abitare posta nel popolo di S. Piero Ghattolini chon sua vochaboli e chonfini, che dà prima via ½ Nicholò di Gherardo Moiaio. 2⁰. beni di S. Jacopo champo chorbolini, la quale comperai da Amadio (read Andrea) de Ghabriello di Vicho per pregio di fiorini cento cinquanta nove larghi cioe fior. 159 larghi, carta per mano di Ser Jachopo di Bartolommeo di Giovanni Camerotti. Uno pezzo di terra vignata di staione 4 in circha, posta nel popolo di Santo Martino a Brozzi, coè S. Maria a Brozzi luogo detto Pratovecchio, chon sua vochaboli e confini, che da primo el piovano di Brozzi; 2⁰ rede di Piero Francesco di Verzaia; 3⁰ le monache di S. Domenico; 4⁰ el priore di S. Pagholo di Firenze, la quale chonperai da Domenico di Piero di Benedetto da Brozzi per pregio di fiorini diciotto larghi, cioè fior. 18 larghi; carta per mano di Ser Jacopo di Bartolommeo di Giovanni Chamerotti. Rende l'anno in parte vino barili 6. Dua Mule disutili e vecchi di valuta di fior. 10.

Bocche. Pagholo sopra detto d'età d'ann. 62.

Monna Andrea mia donna d'età d'anni 34.

Bartolommeo mio figliuolo d'età d'anni sei.

Piero mio figliuolo d'età d'anni 3.

Domenico mio figliuolo d'età d'anni 2.

Michele mio figluolo d'età d'anni 1. [* Dr. KNAPP (*Fra Bartolommeo della Porta und die Schule von San Marco*, Halle a. S., 1903, p. 8 *sq.*) quotes the following entry in the baptismal register of Florence: "Bartolomeo et Sancti di Paulo di Jacopo popolo di San Felice naque a di 28 di marzo 1472 a hore 6, battezzato a di 28." If, as seems beyond doubt, this refers to Fra Bartolommeo, we must conclude that his father's memory was at fault when he prepared the above-quoted declaration.]

[2] Benedetto da Maiano died at Florence, aged 55, in 1497, leaving three sons and three daughters. Cosimo Rosselli was appointed administrator to his property by the Magistrato de' Pupilli. Amongst the property left behind by Benedetto, we find the following list of books, interesting because it tells us what literature artists usually consulted: The Bible, the *Divina Commedia*, the *Vangeli e Fioretti* of St. Francis, Livy, the Chronicle of Florence, the Life of Alexander of Macedon, Lives of the Fathers, Boccaccio, S. Antonino, the Book of Vices and Virtues, the *Novellino* and *Libro de' Laudi* (see CESARE GUASTI'S Report of the Società Colombaria for 1861, May 25, 1862, in *Archiv. stor.*, n. 1, vol. xvi., part i., p. 92.

favourably received, and the child entered on his duties in 1484.

Rosselli's occupation chiefly took him then to the convent of S. Ambrogio at Florence, and his assistant was the absent and eccentric Piero di Cosimo. Without being the best of Florentine artists, his known integrity and respectability insured to him considerable practice; and his school afforded the same advantages to beginners as that of a greater man. To grind colours, sweep the workshop, and run errands, was the course which Baccio like others was obliged by custom to follow.

Baccio's honesty soon won him the full confidence of his superior, and he was often the link of communication between Cosimo and the nuns of S. Ambrogio, from whom he received the pay of his master.[1] Nor is it unlikely that early familiarity with convents and the solemn silence of churches was of influence in preparing his timid mind[2] for the retirement into which he subsequently withdrew. Whilst his comrade, Mariotto Albertinelli, resorted to the garden of the Medici, in which the old sculptor Bertoldo preserved but scant discipline, and where broken noses and black eyes were to be had without the asking, Baccio sought the more carefully guarded stillness of the Carmine,[3] and preferred Masaccio and Filippino to classic bas-reliefs and statues. Yet his amiable disposition did not repel the friendship of his schoolfellows, and we are assured that Baccio and Mariotto were "one body and one soul."[4] Whatever, indeed, might have been their difference of humour and of character, the two students were united to each other by companionship, by a similar age, and by common pursuits. They had before them the examples of Giotto, Orcagna, Masaccio, and Ghirlandaio in the past; those of Michael Angelo and Leonardo in the present. With those of Raphael they were soon to make acquaintance, and these were incentives to progress too strong to fail of their effect. Baccio, thanks to

[1] "1484–85. A Chosimo dipintore a dì VIIII. di Febraio fior. uno largho d'oro in oro; portò Bartolommeo che sta con esso lui" (*Archiv. di stato di Firenze, Corp. relig. soppresse*). *Mon. di S. Ambrogio. Entrata e uscita dal* 1479 *al* 1485, p. 167.

"1485. A Chosimo dipintore a dì XVII. di Magio fior. uno largho portò Bartolommeo di Pagholo del Fattorino" (*ib., ib., ib.*, p. 171).

[2] "Artefice mansueto" (VASARI, iv. 177.

[3] VASARI, ii. 299.

[4] VASARI, iv. 217.

industry and heart, attained to a grandeur nearly approaching that of Buonarroti. He almost equalled Sanzio in decorous composition; Leonardo was his teacher as regards the technica of colour,[1] and if he was not absolutely on the level of any one of them, he was so close as to be necessarily counted a great genius by their side.

The first misfortune which befel him was the loss of his brother Domenico in 1486[2]—an event melancholy in itself, but perhaps not seriously felt by the elastic nerves of a child. A more serious blow was the death of his father, which occurred in the following year, leaving Baccio in charge of his mother, who was not destined long to survive.[3] Under these altered conditions it is probable that the family circle grew dearer to him, and that he frequented it with unwonted assiduity. From that time also he, no doubt, became known as Baccio della Porta, from the vicinity of the maternal dwelling to the gate of S. Pier Gattolino;[4] and it was natural that he and Albertinelli should often retire there together in the evenings after their work, and spend the hours before sleep in eager and confidential converse.

The produce of their industry in Rosselli's shop was of such a kind that, if it were to be found at all, it would be under Rosselli's name, and display his impress or that of Piero di Cosimo.[5] It would be presuming even to base any theory as to Baccio's early style on the examination of the Madonna with saints at S. Pietro al Terreno, to which reference has been made. The feeling, character, landscape, and handling of the panel are indeed reminiscent of the manner which we shall have occasion to acknowledge as that of Fra Bartolommeo, but, we have said, Piero di Cosimo might have painted it either under a lucky momentary

[1] "Cominciò a studiare con grande affezione le cose di Lionardo da Vinci, e in poco tempo fece tal frutto e tal progresso nel colorito, che s' acquistò reputazione e credito d' uno de' miglior giovani dell' arte" (VASARI, iv. 175).

[2] See *antea*, p. 50, n. 1.

[3] See *antea*, p. 50, n. 1.

[4] VASARI, iv. 175.

[5] We only allude to the Annunciation in the sacristy of S. Marco at Florence (assigned to Baccio by Father MARCHESE, *Mem.*, ii. 18–19) to say that it appears done by a pupil of Ridolfo Ghirlandaio (but see *postea*, Michele di Ridolfo).

Nor do we know anything of Baccio's portrait by himself in the collection of the Signori Montecatini at Lucca (LANZI, *History of Painting*, *u.s.*, i., p. 149).

impulse which carried him forward with the art of his time, or inspired by Fra Bartolommeo himself.[1]

We cannot assume that Baccio and Mariotto were partners before 1490 in the house of Paolo del Fattorino.[2] Both would then have passed the term imposed upon them by their articles of apprenticeship, and Baccio would have sufficient means at his disposal to make him careless of a journeyman's salary. Such, we believe, were the circumstances under which the friends started in their profession. But at the very outset the germs of a future separation might be discerned. Mariotto attracted the attention of one of the Medici in the "Garden,"[3] and Baccio was soon to be struck by the reforming fury of Fra Savonarola. The youths were therefore taking opposite sides without being aware of it. For the first time, in Lent of 1495, the Dominican friar began to preach openly in the Duomo in condemnation of the lasciviousness of the Florentines, and required the burning or destruction of immodest figures. His eloquence secured him audiences as numerous as those which of old listened to the public commentators on the "Divina Commedia";[4] and as he thundered anathema from his pulpit against the profane spirit of the age, he roused the fervour and the sneers of the multitude.

Whilst Baccio admitted the truth of the principles exposed by Savonarola, Mariotto inveighed against the religious orders in general, and the Dominicans in particular.[5] But in spite of this divergence they remained on good terms, even after Baccio had become the devoted adherent of Savonarola. It was not, as some assert, the opinion of the latter that art should be forbidden altogether. On the contrary, he thought that its exercise was a profitable occupation for monks, and he was ambitious of introducing it as far as possible into his monastery for purposes of revenue. His persuasion induced miniaturists, painters, and sculptors to join the Dominicans—Fra Filippo Lapaccini (1492), Fra Benedetto (1495), Fra Eustachio (1496), Fra Agostino di

[1] Father MARCHESE (*Mem., u.s.*, ii. 18) quotes Della Valle's notes as to a "tavola of 1493 by Porta" in Castel Franco a S. Pietro al Terreno. He does not give the subject.

[2] VASARI, iv. 175, 218.

[3] VASARI, iv. 219.

[4] MARCHESE, *Mem., u.s.*, i. 378 and following.

[5] VASARI, iv. 220 *sq.*

Paolo, and Fra Ambrogio della Robbia (1495);[1] and he was wont to say that independence being better than mendicancy for an Order claiming to preach the truth, it was but foresight to lay the foundations of a better financial condition.[2] His portrait, taken in an amiable and quiet mood by Baccio, was supposed to have perished. It had been sent in the first instance to Ferrara, and then brought back to Florence by Filippo di Averardo Salviati, who afterwards gave it to the Dominican nuns of S. Vincenzo at Prato. The nuns kept it until the suppression of their convent in 1810, and after many accidents it was purchased by Signor Ermolao Rubieri, the present possessor.[3] In this, the earliest extant work of Baccio della Porta, the character and features of the Dominican are reproduced with a fidelity which proves the perfect acquaintance of the artist with the friar. The readiness and decision, the consciousness of power in the face, its bilious complexion, exactly embody what we know by description to have been the aspect and temper of Savonarola. What it reveals besides is Baccio's cleanness of contour, his able handling of materials, and force of modelling, with a moderate impasto at one painting, but, above all, the methods of Cosimo Rosselli, in the low key and the somewhat clouded transparence of oil-colour. The significant line, "Hieronymi Ferrariensis a Deo missi prophetæ effigies," is a motto on the panel expressive of Baccio's fanatical worship which it became prudent to conceal in the days of Savonarola's trial.[4] When, in after-years and in the retirement of Pian di Mugnone, Fra Bartolommeo again attempted to revive this effigy,[5] he did so with a touch more masterly and grand than

[1] A Nativity in terra cotta by Ambrogio is still in S. Spirito at Siena. See the record in MARCHESE (ii. 206–207).

[2] MARCHESE, *u.s.*, i. 392.

[3] VASARI, iv. 179. and annot., *ib.* Signor Rubieri lives at Florence. [* This picture is now in the monastery of S. Marco at Florence.]

[4] The inscription has been recovered from under superposed painting (see *Il Ritratto di Fra Girolamo*, 8°, Florence, 1855, pamphlet of 15 pages, by E. RUBIERI p. 9). The genuine portrait by Giovanni delle Corniole at the Uffizi, done after Savonarola's death, is inscribed: "Hieronymus Ferrariensis ord. Pred. propheta vir(go). et martyr."

[5] Now No. 172 in the Academy of Florence (round, wood, oil), originally in Pian di Mugnone. The flesh in parts is a little dirty, but there is a marvellous delicacy in it. The drawing is grandiose, the forms given with extraordinary skill. The handling in oil recalls Sebastian del Piombo.

that of his youth, allegorically representing Savonarola in the guise of Peter Martyr. But the gain in skill which he then exhibited is compensated by loss of nature and resemblance.

The greatness of Baccio della Porta, however, is not to be sought in portraits, any number of which would fail to reveal the expansion of his talents as a composer, a draughtsman, or a colourist. Unfortunately, we are without examples of any other kind until 1498, the date of his Last Judgment, in the cemetery of S. Maria Nuova at Florence.[1] But the void may to some extent be filled by his drawings, many of which, including a portion of those made with a view to use in the fresco we have named, are in the Uffizi. They are all done carefully with a fine pen, with a seeking after grace in the movements recalling Filippino, but with a successful grasp of the various phases of life in motion. His drapery, whether in flight or simply falling, is full yet very nobly cast, at rare intervals festooned, but never betraying forgetfulness of the under forms. The heads, of elliptic shape, rest on slight long necks—a reminiscence (with the casual festooning in cloth) of Rosselli. The tendency to analyze in Baccio goes hand-in-hand with the effort to give art at last its most dignified reality, and there he goes shoulder to shoulder with Leonardo and Buonarroti.[2] If in Cosimo's atelier this grand aim was less represented than in that of Ghirlandaio and Verrocchio, Michael Angelo and da Vinci were not the less revered there. The latter especially was looked up to even by the saturnine disposition of Piero di Cosimo; and Baccio was obviously induced to share that reverence and study, as Vasari says, "the things of Leonardo."[3] What those things were it is of little moment to inquire. Enough that Baccio obtained from them something which stuck to him ever after, introducing him to the most abstruse maxims of composition, lending high-bred gentleness in air and attitudes to his impersonations,

[1] VASARI, iv. 177 *sq.*, 180 *sq.*, and annot., *ib.*, where the records of payments to Baccio are given. ALBERTINI, *Mem.*, p. 13.

[2] The drawing of the Eternal by Fra Bartolommeo, for an altarpiece at Lucca (1509), was, if we are not mistaken, some time under the name of Leonardo at the Uffizi. RUMOHR assigns it to Raphael (*Forsch.*, iii. 72). [* On the vast subjects of the drawings of Fra Bartolommeo the reader must be referred to BERENSON, *The Drawings of the Florentine Painters* (London, 1903), i. 133–143, and ii. 12–25; and KNAPP, *u.s.*, *passim*.]

[3] VASARI, iv. 175.

teaching him the modern system of colouring of which da Vinci had improved the technical use.

We look almost vainly into the darkness of history to ascertain whether Leonardo might not have been personally instrumental in directing the yearning diligence of Baccio. Historians generally have assumed that da Vinci entered the service of the Duke of Milan in 1483, and that he revisited Florence in 1500 only. But many passages in Vasari are opposed to that assumption, leading us, on the contrary, to believe that Leonardo and Baccio might have been in contact with each other in that interval. After the second exile of the Medici, in 1494, Savonarola projected a new form of government for the Republic, advocating a council of one thousand citizens, from which the supreme magistrates were to be elected by lot. No hall in Florence at the time was capable of containing so many. Savonarola therefore consulted Leonardo da Vinci, Michael Angelo, Giuliano da S. Gallo, Baccio d'Agnolo, and Cronaca, as to the means of building one; and those artists agreed to a plan which was placed in Cronaca's hands for execution about the middle of July, 1495.[1] We cannot, therefore, exclude the probability of an acquaintance between della Porta and da Vinci in that year. Both were unaware that their services would be required later for the decoration of the new saloon; that the first would be asked to furnish an altarpiece which he should begin and leave unfinished; that the second would be required to paint its walls, and should only draw the cartoon.

But for Savonarola, we should perhaps enjoy more of della Porta's earlier studies. The friar had said that nudities were indecent, and many of his adherents cast the contents of their portfolios into the fire during the carnivals of 1497 and 1498. But the first to obey this injunction was Baccio.[2] He had become a personal friend of Savonarola; and when the fatal day arrived in which the convent of S. Marco was stormed (May 23, 1498), he was one of the besieged, and realized to his dismay the dangers of an armed conflict, and the prospect of a violent death. He is said to have made a vow that if he survived, he would join the

[1] VASARI, Lives of Cronaca, of Leonardo, and Baccio d'Agnolo (vols. iv. 41, 448 *sqq.*, and v. 351).

[2] VASARI, iv. 178 *sq.*

Dominicans.[1] Yet, shortly after the execution of Savonarola, he accepted from Gerozzo Dini an order for the Last Judgment in the cloister cemetery of S. Maria Nuova at Florence, and he worked assiduously to finish it until October, 1499.[2] But then it is supposed that his conscience smote him for neglecting the promise he had made to heaven, and he began to think of settling his temporal affairs preparatory to withdrawal from the world.[3]

All that we see incompletely in the drawings of Baccio looks down upon us with increased force from the Last Judgment of S. Maria Nuova. Within the compass of a few feet the culmination of efforts made at Florence during upwards of two centuries may be seen; the solitary link between the successive performances of bygone times under Giotto, Orcagna, Masaccio, Fra Filippo, and Domenico Ghirlandaio, and those of the sixteenth century.[4] The Last Judgment, with its Leonardesque impress, illustrates not only the rise of della Porta, but also the new phase inaugurated by Leonardo and Michael Angelo, affording a glimpse at an obscure interval in the history of da Vinci himself. Comparing it with Rosselli's miracle of the chalice at S. Ambrogio, we measure the distance which separates Baccio from his master, and notice the transformation which he underwent without altogether losing the bias of his first education. We see della Porta the worthy heir of the great Florentines, the follower of Ghirlandaio, Masaccio, and Leonardo in their grandest qualities.

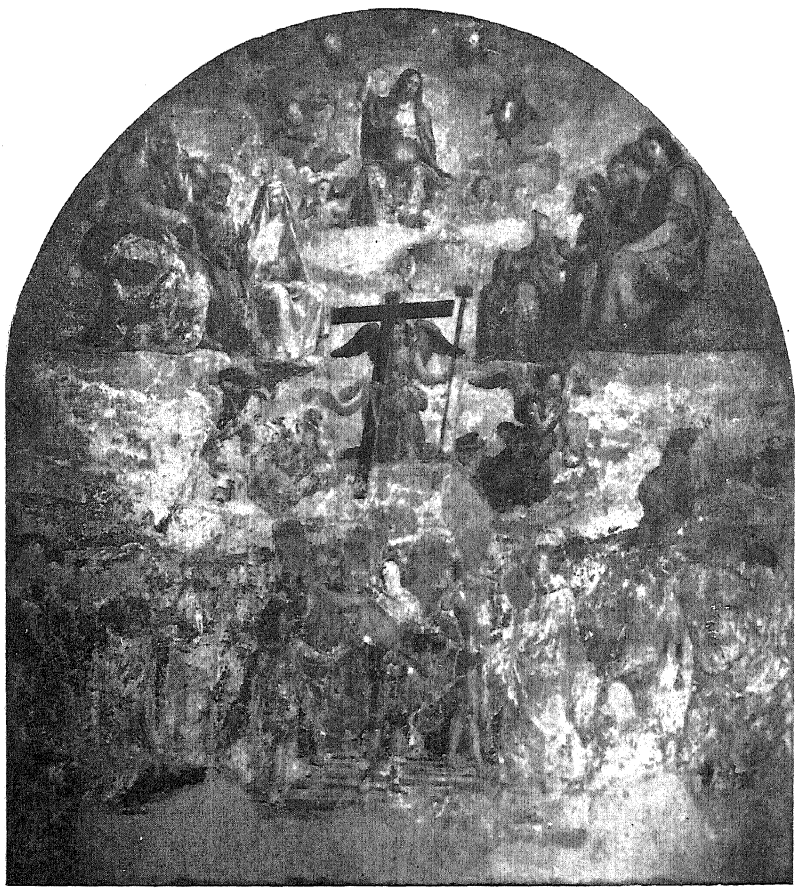
The subject of the Last Judgment is not the oldest that was accepted by Christian painters; but we have seen it pass through the hands of the Byzantines of S. Angelo in Formis at Capua, of the Sienese at the Campo Santo of Pisa; Giotto, Orcagna, and Angelico. Della Porta renovated the old theme by a scientific distribution which owes much of its final development to da Vinci, and is called modern art since it was raised to sublimity in

[1] VASARI, iv. 180.

[2] See *antea*, p. 56, n. 1.

[3] VASARI, iv. 180.

[4] It is the sole link between the old masters and Raphael. If it were missing, we should say that Sanzio and not della Porta continued the great art of Giotto and Ghirlandaio. Raphael did nothing as important as the Last Judgment of S. Maria Nuova till he undertook the fresco of S. Severo at Perugia.



Photo, Alinari

THE LAST JUDGMENT

BY FRA BARTOLOMMEO

From a fresco in the Uffizi, Florence

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the Parnassus of Raphael. The space may be dissected into blocks of various shapes—ovals, triangles, polygons, and arcs. The result of their combination is a unity without interruption of lines, the principal element being the Greek cross. Above sits Christ in power and majesty, with charming cherubs about his glory, one peeping from behind his drapery; beneath him, the seraph with the symbols of the Passion and Redemption, and in the foreground St. Michael, the executor of doom, dividing the wicked from the blest. As a make-weight to these, the apostles are seated on clouds in a fine perspective row at each side of the Messiah. The system of poise and counterpoise is carried out in the minutest particulars, and with such success that the science in the conjunction of the parts is hidden by the harmony of the whole. A new perfection is given to form, a greater freedom and nobleness to action, a more striking individuality to faces nearer than of old to the standard of masculine beauty, a more select detail to extremities. Passion is rendered with simplicity and measure elevation; in the mien and regular face of the Redeemer, whose gentleness reminds one of da Vinci, in the air and converse of the apostles, in the gestures of the elect and of the condemned. In the boy-angels the innocence of childhood accompanies their flight and gambols, whilst those who sound the trumpets of the Judgment have a sprightliness almost carried to excess when one considers the solemnity of their office. A broad cast of drapery correctly defining and seeking the shape, and cleverly folded about the feet, is also a distinguishing feature. The general laws of perspective and foreshortening are very fairly applied, and judiciously combined with those of geometric division. But the study of Leonardo by della Porta is still more conspicuous in the sky and glory,[1] the vapour of which is created by an infinite diversity in gradations of tints—the forms of the clouds contributing to the general effect by contrasts of colour as well as by variety of outline. But in the figures also the colour is warm, powerful, and well fused, and if occasionally sharp in the juxtaposition of lights and shadows in flesh, or of tones in drapery, the cause may be found in difficulties attending fresco, which della Porta only overcame later, and which Andrea del Sarto alone finally conquered.

[1] And this in spite of the damage caused by time and other causes.

The wall-painting of S. Maria Nuova is the masterpiece of a man who almost succeeds in combining all the excellence of his predecessors and contemporaries.[1] Through the influence of Leonardo chiefly, he raised the level of Italian art a step higher than it was before, and left nothing but the very last polish to be given by Raphael. With Michael Angelo this combination had a slighter connection, Buonarroti having more obviously favoured the style of the vehement Signorelli. But Fra Bartolommeo drew the great Florentine into the compass of his view in a subsequent period of his career, and derived something from him for the enlargement of his manner.

In thus attributing to della Porta a rare merit, we do not forget that the fresco of the Last Judgment was completed by Mariotto. But it is as certain as anything can well be that Albertinelli had no harder task to perform than to fill up the lower outlines left unfinished by his partner, and add the portraits of the donors, Gerozzo Dini and his wife.[2] We regret only that the ruin of the latter should prevent a direct comparison between the two men, and that the portion left undone by Baccio should have been most seriously damaged by time and want of proper care.[3]

The resolution of Baccio della Porta to enter the Dominican

[1] "In quel genere," says Vasari very truly, "si può far poco più" (VASARI, iv. 181).

[2] VASARI, iv. 180 *sq.*

[3] Florence, S. Maria Nuova. The fresco was removed at the instance of Mr. Cavalcaselle from the wall of S. Maria Nuova in 1871, and thus rescued from total loss. It is twelve feet square, arched semi-circularly at the top. There are many parts scaled—*e.g.*, the shoulder of the apostle, on the extreme life, a piece of the Virgin's veil, the lower edge of the Redeemer's mantle, the right shoulder of the friar looking down to the right of the Saviour, justly described by Father MARCHESE as the portrait of Angelico (it is that engraved by Vasari, and therefore the historian's memory failed him when he spoke of Fra Giovanni as being below amongst the "beati"; vol. iv. 181); the arm of a figure left from the archangel; the torso of the latter; the head of the nude tearing his face; that of a man sitting in the right foreground, and generally the whole of the lower border of the picture. Other portions are rubbed and discoloured; the portraits of Dini and his wife are lost. The fresco, which had been sawn from the wall and placed in the court, near the hospital, was gradually fading from the effects of damp rising into the lime from the ground. A roofing, erected after the transfer, was an insufficient protection, especially in winter, when the room was frequently used as a greenhouse. A poor but old copy of the fresco is in the cloister of the disused church of S. Apollonia at Florence. [* The fresco by Fra Bartolommeo is now in the Uffizi, where a large copy of it, made by Raffaelle Bonaiuti in 1871, is also to be seen.]

Order may have been hastened by domestic bereavements. It is not unlikely that the loss of his youngest brother Michele and of his mother Andrea placed him in a frame of mind favourable to suggestions of monastic retirement. The only surviving member of the family at Florence was his brother Piero, whose lot he proposed to benefit by surrendering to him the whole of his father's succession. One moment's hesitation might have been caused by "doubts as to the selection of a suitable guardian for Piero." That, however, was soon decided by Santi Pagnini the Dominican, who expressed his willingness to act in this capacity; and the last scruples of the painter being thus removed, he took the first vows in S. Domenico of Prato on July 26, 1500, and, after a year's probation, professed under the name of Fra Bartolommeo.[1] He never rose higher than to deacon's orders, nor was it intended, perhaps, that he should do so.[2] For some time he was allowed to lead a contemplative and inactive life, but in his cell of S. Marco at Florence the busy hum of the external world did not fail to reach him. Mariotto, whose grief at his voluntary seclusion was evidently sincere, occasionally came, and no doubt retailed the gossip of artistic circles. The Frate was thus made acquainted with the tremendous competition of Michael Angelo and da Vinci, and was informed of the coming of Raphael. His own fame had not been buried under the frock, and we conceive it possible that Sanzio, finding Buonarroti and Leonardo too much engaged or too high in station to busy themselves about the fortune of a youth, sought out the monk in his solitude, and courted his friendship. His inclination for Fra Bartolommeo would be great in proportion to his admiration for such a grand production as the Last Judgment of S. Maria Nuova, a fresco embodying all the principles of high art which Raphael had as yet to master; and the friar's partiality for da Vinci's system of composition and method of colouring would act as an incentive in Raphael to make them his own.

But in Fra Bartolommeo himself the thoughts of an altered condition, the remembrance of Savonarola, and the duties of religion necessarily had a tendency to chasten and to soften his

[1] MARCHESE, *Mem.*, *u.s.*, ii. 27, 28, and 359; VASARI, iv. 180.

[2] MARCHESE, *u.s.*, Doc. IX., ii. 369. "Erat autem diaconus."

spirit. It was no longer open to him to follow impulses natural to a lay artist. Nor did he feel any desire, apparently, to issue from a sort of dreamy enjoyment of his new life. But if he did, he concealed the struggle, and, casting about for models, he might admire in Fra Giovanni, whose masterpieces filled every cell in S. Marco, an excessive purity and fervour; in Perugino and in Raphael, a tenderness and calmness of meditation equally attractive because new and more within his reach than the intensely religious mysticism of Angelico. He tempered in this wise, as we shall see, the weight of his Florentine style with the gentleness of the Umbrian, giving in exchange the science which he had learnt either directly or indirectly from Leonardo. Perspective, we are told, he learnt from Raphael. Perhaps he then received lessons in the abstruser problems familiar to the ateliers of Verrocchio and Perugino; but he had already applied more general rules in the fresco of the Last Judgment with the same success as Raphael himself in the later Roman period.

How long Fra Bartolommeo pondered before he openly confessed a wish to resume his old occupations cannot be established with any certainty.[1] He was troubled with qualms as to the prospects of his brother, for whom he had to choose a guardian instead of Santi Pagnini, elected in 1506 prior of Santo Spirito at Siena. He desired to see Piero engaged in a business of some kind, and wanted him to learn painting; but he felt disinclined to be himself the teacher, and preferred to vest that duty in Mariotto. He therefore signed a deed (January 1, 1506, *n.s.*) by which his brother became the ward of Albertinelli for a term of six years.[2] He had scarcely taken this step, when he returned to his own easel; whilst Piero, too old to learn a profession, rendered all previous foresight nugatory by entering the priesthood.[3]

From that time Fra Bartolommeo ceased to think of anything else but the pencil, and was acknowledged as the head of the workshop belonging to S. Marco. With the orders for pictures he had nothing to do, still less with the remuneration, in which the entire community had an interest.[4] Helping hands there were in

[1] VASARI says: "Four years spent in S. Marco" (iv. 182); *ergo*, till *circa* 1505.
[2] The deed in full is in Father MARCHESE, p. 357 and following.
[3] See the genealogy, *antea*, p. 50, n. 1. [4] RAZZI, in MARCHESE, *Mem.*, *u.s.*, ii. 61.

sufficient numbers; and so he laboured for the sake of a name, and for the profit of his brethren, with one distinction only—that of dispensation from attendance in the choir.[1]

Amongst the early fruits of his new activity we may class a little treasure of the Uffizi collection, the shutters of Donatello's relief-triptych of the Madonna, ordered, according to Vasari, by Piero del Pugliese, and considered a gem by the Duke Cosimo.[2] Inside, the Nativity and Circumcision; outside, the Virgin and the Angel Annunciate, in monochrome. Nothing more exquisite than this miniature had, as far as we know, issued from the hands of Fra Bartolommeo. In the Nativity, the Child is adored by the kneeling Virgin, whose two attendant angels stand in converse, St. Joseph to the right resting against a pack-saddle; the scene, a landscape of minute touch and gay clear tones, after the fashion of the Ferrarese or Flemings, with slightly leaved trees recalling those of Raphael's Florentine period. In the spacing and grouping, which are well managed, the figures are connected with great judgment, and impressed with the necessary individuality. The favourite ellipse of Baccio is visible in the Virgin's head in conjunction with a thin shape and extremities; the form, in her as well as in the angels, reminiscent of Rosselli, whilst the pretty smiling child has more the air of those by Sanzio; St. Joseph, of a masculine cast and broadly draped. The Circumcision is the exact counterpart of the Nativity as to style and execution; the Annunciation, a notable instance of the painter's feeling for the elegance in angels which is to be found in the new art of Florence at the rise of the sixteenth century. The colour, softly fused and well modelled, with good contrasts of light and shade, discloses a different technical process from that of Rosselli, but the same comparative absence of glazes and similar methods generally to those in the Vision of St. Bernard at the Academy of Arts in Florence.[3]

[1] RAZZI, in MARCHESE, *Mem.*, *u.s.*, ii. 61.

[2] "Non è possibile a olio poter far meglio" (VASARI, iv. 176). These shutters are now No. 1,161 at the Uffizi.

[3] A Nativity (wood, oil) of small compass, No. 23 in the Rasponi collection at Ravenna, stands under the name of Raphael. At first sight, one feels inclined to ascribe it to a Ferrarese imitating Fra Bartolommeo. But on closer examination, and seeing that the landscapes of the triptych shutters at the Uffizi have some-

The first glance at this composition, which was delivered in the spring of 1507, suggests a doubt as to whether it was ever finished, so raw is the impasto.[1] Prolonged examination shows that this appearance is due to flaying and restoring. But, however ill-calculated its present condition may be to please the eye, the distribution is such as to retrieve in part even that deficiency, and to excite the highest admiration; whilst the damage done to the surface lays bare the secrets of Fra Bartolommeo's palette. They are evidently the same as those of da Vinci in the portraits of the Ambrosiana,[2] the flesh being rubbed in and modelled with brown earth, and then brought up to a cheerful general key of a fluid semi-transparence. After this the half-tones and shadows were scumbled to a bluish-grey with more or less depth, according to the darkness required, and the lights were touched on in a broad mass over all, the whole being united at last by glazes of the thinnest texture, which have now in a great measure disappeared. This was the system of handling which owed its origin and progress to da Vinci, who carried it to perfection in the Mona Lisa—the system which Fra Bartolommeo improved as he grew older, and which Andrea del Sarto at last thoroughly understood. It was the novel one which Vasari describes as having surpassed that of Francia and Perugino, when practised by Leonardo, Giorgione, the Frate, and Raphael.[3] It is, however, but a variety of Perugino's method of strata, with the inevitable rawness produced by

thing of the same peculiarity, which is also remarkable in the Vision of St. Bernard at the Academy, one may class it amongst the works of Fra Bartolommeo at the period we are now considering. [* The collection of Count Ferdinando Rasponi of Ravenna was sold by auction at Brussels on October 25, 1880. A Christ appearing to the Magdalen, in the Louvre (No. 1,115), may confidently be identified with a picture for which Fra Bartolommeo received a rate of payment on April 30, 1506. The authors ascribe the painting in the Louvre to Albertinelli; *cf. postea*, p. 105 *sq.*].

[1] No. 97, Florence Academy of Arts (VASARI, iv. 183). The Virgin appears on a cloud supported by cherubs, with boy angels and seraphs. She holds the infant in her arms; and He gives the blessing. St. Bernard kneels at a desk in the middle of the foreground, SS. Benedict and John Evangelist behind him. Left of the desk is a little arched picture of the Crucifixion between two saints. The blue mantle, falling from the Virgin's head, is renewed, as are the head and mantle of the Benedict, the head and red cloak of the Evangelist.

*[2] *Cf. antea*, p. 33, n. 1.

[3] VASARI, iv. 11.

their overlapping, when thin glazes do not cover the edges, and with casual opacity where repeated labour has been required to soften the occasional abruptness of the superpositions. The same principles in Credi and Piero di Cosimo only yielded less favourable fruits because their talent was not of the highest class.

No picture more fully embodies the idea evolved in Fra Bartolommeo's Vision of St. Bernard than that of Filippino Lippi whose slender mould of shape is preserved by the Dominican; but we recognize at once the progress embodied in the Frate's art by the superior tact shown in conception and distribution. The apparition of the Virgin, wafted through the air on the clouds, supported by cherubim, is imposing by the majesty of its *ensemble*, as well as by the grace and elegance of its parts. There is motion in the forms, in the drapery, in the rolling mist. The confidence of love in the angel on whose shoulder the Virgin steps, as he guides her foot with his hand, the playfulness of the peeping boy, are charming. Briskness and sprightliness in the attendant seraphs are perhaps carried to excess, reminding one still of Rosselli. But Raphael did not compose better. The types alone are not so pure and fresh as those of Sanzio; for though Fra Bartolommeo tried to give them an aspect of chasteness and supreme beauty, he did not thoroughly succeed, from lack of that delicate fibre which discerns the very finest shades of thought, and also mainly because he was the follower of an analyst who sought the ideal scientifically and irrespective of impulse, and could not with all his subtlety produce what in Raphael is the result of feeling, without mental effort.

Opposite to the Virgin, but looking up from his book as she appears in the sky, and accompanied by St. Benedict and St. John the Evangelist, kneels the ascetic St. Bernard in ecstacy, nobly surprised, and well set off by a long train of drapery. A summer twilight of evening is on a gay and smiling landscape receding from hill to hill, enlivened with horsemen near a city, and closing on the horizon.

In this, as well as in the arrangement and execution of the picture generally, Fra Bartolommeo was not indebted to Leonardo only, but perhaps also to Perugino, whose meditative tenderness and gifts as a colourist were calculated to alter the masculine

and solid nature of the monk's art, at a moment when convent discipline, the solemn spirit of religion and past example might tend to soften his character. It was the more easy for him to surrender himself to such influences if Raphael stood by to give them weight; and we can fancy the style of the Frate being impressed in this way by Vannucci's Pietà of S. Chiara.

But if, in the Vision of St. Bernard, Fra Bartolommeo reveals this inward struggle, another masterpiece of the same period also shows how successfully he could instil into his work the religious pathos, if not the absolute purity, of Fra Giovanni. In a lunette above the door leading into the refectory of S. Marco, he represented the Meeting of Christ and the Apostles at Emmaus;[1] and courting direct comparison with Angelico, he gained unusual sweetness and dignified repose. Refining upon the theory of colour applied in the Last Judgment of S. Maria Nuova, he obtained a richness of tone in fresco reproducing nature in its best and most favoured appearance; a form with scarce a blemish, features both select and breathing, movements elastic and ready, and drapery of the finest cast.[2]

In the meantime Bernardo del Bianco, who had ordered the Vision of St. Bernard for the Badia of Florence, began haggling about its price. Fra Bartolommeo declared it to be worth 200 ducats. Bernardo offered eighty. Hence great excitement in the Dominican community. Both parties agreed to accept the arbitration of the abbot of the Badia, who withdrew from his office, because he could not bring Bernardo to terms. Mariotto Albertinelli, Lorenzo di Credi, and others tried in vain to moderate between the angry disputants, and a suggestion was made at last that the question should be deferred to the guild of the "Speziali." But the Dominicans objected to submit their grievances to a lay tribunal, and only consented after some delay to accept

*[1] This fresco has now been taken down, and is shown in the cell No. 12 on the upper floor of the monastery.

[2] Much freshness has been taken from the wall-painting. Some fragments of lime have dropped from the hair of the Saviour and the forehead of the central saint. The ground also is injured. As it was a tradition at S. Marco, repeated by VASARI (iv. 197), that one of the saints was a likeness of Fra Niccolò della Magna, and it is proved that this Dominican was prior of the convent in 1506–07, leaving Florence in the latter year for Rome, the date of the piece is approximatively deduced.

Francesco Magalotti, Bernardo's relative, as umpire. By his mediation the price was fixed at 100 ducats, and a very protracted quarrel was thus brought to an end on June 17, 1507.[1]

The annals of S. Marco at this time contain evidence of a close connection and a constant intercourse between the Dominicans of Florence and those of Venice.[2] Frequent journeys were undertaken by members of the Florentine community to the convents of the sister republic, and Fra Bartolommeo took advantage of one of these opportunities to visit Venice in the spring of 1508. Failing health might urge him to take this trip; a desire for change of air and scene, or a wish to study the masterpieces of a school justly celebrated throughout Italy. He might have heard from Baccio da Montelupo, an exile since the persecution of Savonarola, how marvellously proficient the Venetians had become as colourists; or the monks who travelled occasionally between the two places had discoursed to him of the wealth and splendour of the city of canals. It was perhaps his intention, and that of the Syndic who accompanied him, to engage a journeyman for the atelier at S. Marco. When the Frate found himself at Venice, in April, 1508, he was met by Baccio da Montelupo, guided by whose experience he saw the rarest sights, and admired the works that filled the palaces and churches. Yet such was the known pre-eminence of the Florentines as painters, even on the Adriatic, that when Fra Bartolommeo came to the monastery of S. Pietro Martire at Murano, he was asked by the Vicar Bartolommeo Dalzano to give him for a reasonable price a specimen of his skill, and he was obliged to promise a canvas of the value of 70 to 100 ducats.[3] But his time was so amply filled by occupations of various kinds during his stay, that he postponed the execution

[1] The record, with full particulars of this arbitration, is in MARCHESE, ii., pp. 360–363. [* An Assumption of the Virgin in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum at Berlin (No. 249) is in all probability identical with a picture of that subject which Fra Bartolommeo in 1508 is recorded as having painted for the Compagnia de' Contemplanti at Florence (mentioned by VASARI, iv. 196, as in possession of Ottaviano de' Medici). The picture is, however, not wholly the work of the master. See KNAPP, *u.s.*, pp. 69–74, 262; and *cf. postea*, p. 95.]

[2] *E.g.*, in the record just quoted.

[3] In the record of this transaction between the convents of S. Pietro at Venice and S. Marco at Florence (in MARCHESE, ii. 52 and 363) the facts in the text are authenticated.

till he returned to Florence, bringing with him an advance of 28 ducats in money and colours, and a prospect of payment for the remainder out of a sum to be raised by the sale of MS. letters from St. Catherine of Siena, held by a friend of Father Dalzano, in Tuscany.

Fra Bartolommeo's first care on resuming his duties in S. Marco was to reorganize the atelier and introduce new elements into it. However unwilling the Dominicans might be to acknowledge that their own Order was unable to provide the necessary assistance, they tacitly admitted it by allowing the Frate to take Mariotto Albertinelli into partnership. There was nothing new in the employment of a layman in a monastic workshop, for Benozzo Gozzoli had been helpmate to Angelico; but there is no other instance of an association like that into which Albertinelli entered with the convent of S. Marco. It seems to have been agreed that the Syndic should provide for all current expenses, and that the net profits should be divided with Mariotto.[1] We shall presently see that a subdivision of interests also existed. Some pictures were finished in the essential parts by Fra Bartolommeo, others were more exclusively Mariotto's; others, again, were the fruit of their labour with additional aid; and there was a monogram to distinguish all but the paintings of the first class.

The commission which first occupied Fra Bartolommeo after the reorganization was that which he had accepted from Father Dalzano, the subject of which is simply the Eternal in heaven, attended by cherubs and seraphs, and worshipped from below by St. Mary Magdalen and St. Catherine of Siena. In this most admirable production for feeling as well as form, a special attractiveness is created by colouring redolent of Venetian richness and brilliancy, and by atmosphere successfully attained in gradations of landscape-tints, and by chiaroscuro after the method of da Vinci in the Mona Lisa, or of Raphael in the portrait of Leo X.[2] Without being free from occasional rawness

[1] The partnership commenced in 1509, the inventory of the division of profits in 1512 stating that the association had lasted about three years. See the inventory in MARCHESE, ii. 144.

[2] "Ne meno di costui (Giorgione), diede alle sue pitture forza, rilievo, dolcezza e grazia ne' colori, Fra Bartolommeo di S. Marco" (VASARI, iv. 11).

in the flesh, the picture exhibits increased knowledge of the use and value of glazes in the figures and distance. The saints almost touch the ground, but the sense of their elevation above the rank of mortals is conveyed by their kneeling on light clouds rolling above the ground on cherubs' heads. The Magdalen, with eyes cast down, has the beauty of the penitent. The St. Catherine is more austerely elegant, and shows supreme longing in her upward gaze; but there is less distinction in the shape and air of the Eternal in benediction; and the angels about him, with their crowns, garlands of flowers, and strings of pearls, if select in form and true in movement, are a little hard in colour, from which we gather that Mariotto had a share in carrying out the arched glory.

Advice having been sent to Venice that the canvas was ready for delivery, the monks of S. Pietro waited some time before they replied. They despatched two friars to negotiate, who left Florence without coming to terms; and they paid no attention to a protest issued by the convent of S. Marco in January, 1511. In the end Fra Bartolommeo remained in possession of the piece at the dissolution of his partnership with Albertinelli, and is supposed to have presented it to the prior Santi Pagnini.[1] It now hangs on an altar to the left of the portal in S. Romano of Lucca,[2] vying with a Madonna of the same year and by the same hand in a neighbouring church.[3]

In the chapel of the sanctuary at S. Martino of Lucca, an old and time-honoured subject is invested with new interest. Two angels suspend the crown and veil above the Virgin's head, their frame and wings detached with delicate shades of tint from the lighter tone of the sky. The Virgin herself wears the mantle about her head and holds the Infant on her knee, a lovely little being full of fresh life, joyfully looking out as the angel on the

[1] MARCHESE, *u.s.*, ii. 52, 246 and 363. See also VASARI, iv. 192. The following may be read on the left side of the foreground: "Orate p. pictore 1509." The drawing for the Eternal, an exquisite thing, is in the Uffizi under the name of Leonardo.

[*2] It is at present in the Lucca Gallery (Sala I., No. 12).

[3] VASARI, iv. 191. The picture (in oil, on wood) is signed on the step occupied by the angel: "1509. Ffis barthol. Florentini opus 1509 or^{is}. predicator." The figures are under life-size.

step, with upturned glance, feeds his ear with the harmony of a little viol. By the two pillars which confine the space, St. John the Baptist and St. Stephen are relieved in light on the darkness of the ground. A noble picture this, full of gentle elegance, Leonardesque in science and in execution, and graced with the prettiest finesses of the brush, bathed in a warm and airy vapour, and firm of outline and touch.[1]

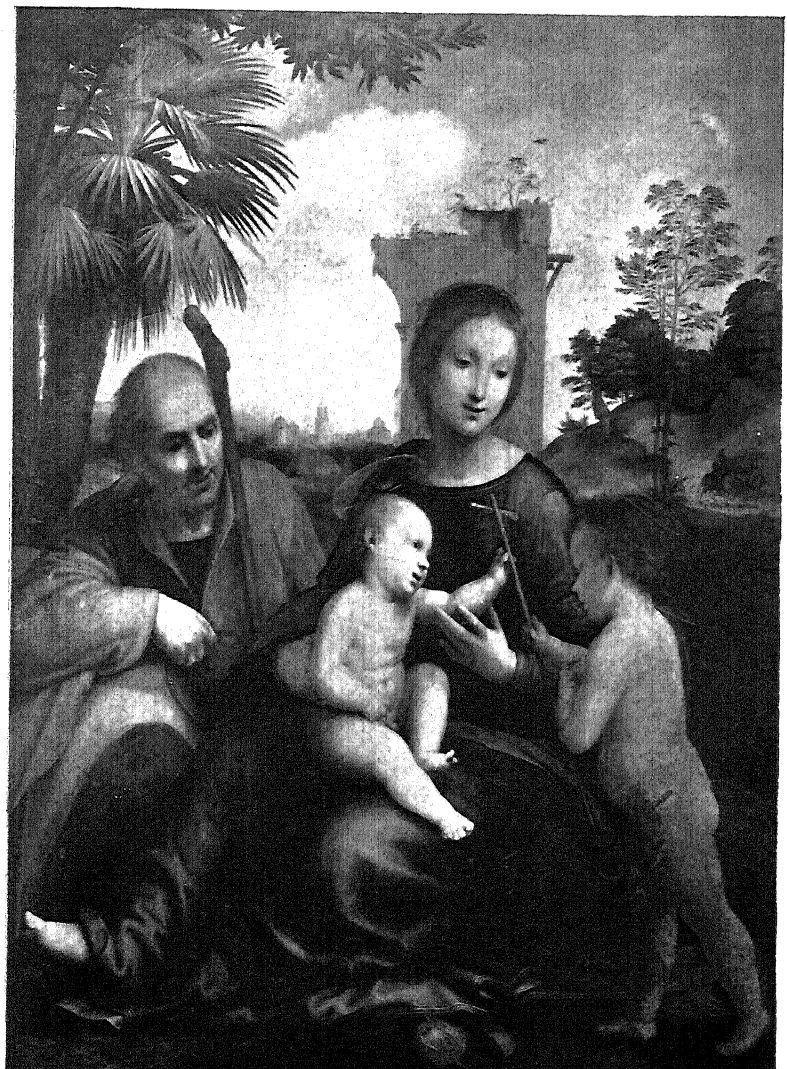
We see in this and in the canvas of S. Romano with what cheerful activity Fra Bartolommeo had taken to work in company with his old friend Mariotto. But the fertility of the year 1509 was not exhausted here. It probably yielded two more examples, the Virgin and Child between four saints in S. Marco at Florence, so grand in its day as to have been taken by Pietro da Cortona for a Raphael,[2] and the small Virgin, children, and St. Joseph, now belonging to Earl Cowper at Panshanger.[3]

Such a gem as this Holy Family is alone worthy of a pilgrimage, representing at once the skill of the Frate, Leonardo's maxims of composition and moulds of face, and Raphael's feeling. The eye is fixed at once on the prominent brightness of the flesh in the Virgin and Christ. The lines are most skilfully concentrated into a pyramid, and affectionate fondness beams in the features and expression of the mother in whose eye a smile of delight is lurking. St. Joseph smiles outright, and is also reminiscent of da Vinci. The Infant Christ, in thought, all but lives and breathes. He takes the cross from the little Baptist, whose action is somewhat hard and strained. One can fancy Fra Bartolommeo sitting before this panel, playing like a master with the innovations in

*1 The impulses received by Fra Bartolommeo in studying Venetian painting were considerable, and reacted through him on Florentine painting generally. The authors justly notice in the S. Romano altarpiece a Venetian influence in the colouring; moreover, the whole *mise-en-scène* is very Venetian. As for the S. Martino picture, Mr. BERENSON (*u.s.*, i. 137) has aptly described it as "almost Giorgionesque," the *putto* seated on the step of the throne and playing the lute being besides a direct imitation Bellini's music-making children. The niche which is henceforth so frequently used as a background by Fra Bartolommeo is also a motive derived from Bellini's great altarpieces (*cf.* KNAPP, *u.s.*, *passim*).

2 VASARI, iv. 186; MARCHESE, ii. 76 and 367 (wood, oil, figures life-size). The colour blackened by time and injured by restoring. The character of the whole is Raphaelesque in its gentleness. The picture was given by the monks, in 1534, to Gio. Maria Benintendi for his chapel in S. Marco.

*3 At present the property of Lady Desborough.



Photo, the Medici Society, Ltd.

THE HOLY FAMILY

BY FRA BARTOLOMMEO

From a picture in the collection of Lady Desborough, Panshanger

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the technica of his art. One perceives how he rubbed in the shadows and mezzo-tints, and added the different strata of colour over each other like sheets of tinted crystal, a cool spot in the light here and there tempering its monotone, a dark one varying that of the shadow, the brightest parts of solid impasto and of a warm yellow, the darker ones of a greenish-grey, and so usually transparent that the drawing appears beneath, except in places where a dab or a scumble with the finger strengthens the texture. When the first preparation required no alteration, it was left untouched, because, though such bits might look a little raw on close examination, they kept their harmony at a distance of a few paces. Finish was obtained at last by subtle glazings, the subsequent abrasion of which may account for occasional coldness.

Although Fra Bartolommeo and Mariotto were associates when this Holy Family was done, its completion was due almost entirely to the former, and fell to his share on the division of profits in 1512.[1] The purchaser was probably Filippo di Averardo Salviati, one of whose relations afterwards placed the following memorandum on the back of the panel: "D. Fra Bartol° di S. Marco oggi df° . .} Ant.° Salviati."

During 1510 the labours of Fra Bartolommeo were neither less important nor less numerous than those of the previous year. His time was chiefly spent on an order from Giuliano da Gagliano, from whom large advances were received in November;[2] but the most honourable commission confided to him was that of the altarpiece, once undertaken and never begun by Filippino Lippi, for the hall of the great council at Florence.[3] Yet we must

[1] If the hand of Mariotto be sought in any part, it might be found in the landscape to the right, where the Flight into Egypt is depicted, the treatment and local tone being like those in Albertinelli's Virgin and saints at the Louvre. The parts where Fra Bartolommeo allows the ground to appear are in the Virgin's tunic, in the flesh shadows of the hands of the Virgin and Baptist, and in the vein on the right leg of the latter. The panel is 3 feet 5 by 4 feet 3 inches. It is recorded, if we rightly judge of the matter, in the memorandum of division between Mariotto and the Frate (MARCHESE, ii. 144), but see also VASARI, iv. 176.

[2] MARCHESE, ii. 69 and 144. The picture not to be found at present. The last payment was in January, 1512.

[3] 1510, November 26. Locatio tabule Consilii Maioris. Item dicti domini . . deliberaverunt &c. quod Tabula altaris sale magne Consilii Majoris que fuerat

suppose that some difficulties arose as to price, because after the figures had been sketched, the panel was put aside and left for future consideration.

In 1511, the last touches had been given to a small round of the Nativity, a Christ carrying his cross, a Virgin Annunciate, sold to the Gonfaloniere of Florence, a subject sent to the Carthusians of Pavia, another sold to an English dealer, and a Marriage of St. Catherine, of all which only one is extant.[1] According to Vasari the Marriage of St. Catherine was exhibited for several months in S. Marco, and was afterwards forwarded to the King of France.[2] The real facts are these. In 1512, Jacques Hurault, Bishop of Autun, was envoy of Louis XII. at Florence. The Florentine Government, desirous of securing his favour, found an ingenious mode of doing so by the gift of Fra Bartolommeo's picture, which was bought from S. Marco for 300 ducats. Hurault took the present with him, and left it to the cathedral of his diocese at Autun, from whence it passed at the Revolution to the Louvre. The friar's signature and the date of 1511 are on the Virgin's throne.[3]

With this masterpiece we enter upon a new phase in Fra Bartolommeo's career, and we find him partly resign the tender,

in vita olim Filippi fratris Filippi pictoris (see *antea*, iv. 286, and VASARI v., note 2 to p. 351) eidem Filippo ad ipsam depingendam locata que propter subsequentem mortem depingi per eum non potuit; detur et locetur ad ipsam depingendam et faciendam fratri Bartholomeo pictori qui est in conventu et Ecclesia Sancti marci de florentia ord. pred. S. Dom^{i}, eo modo et forma et cum eisdem conditionibus et pactis et mercede cum qua, que et quibus et prout ipsa fuerat per prius locata dicto Filippo fratris Filippi. *Arch. di Firenze. Protocollo delle Deliberazione de' Signori e Collegi dal* 1508 *al* 1511. *Bimestre di Nov. e Dec.* 1510 (13 pages).

[1] See the memoranda MS. of the Syndic of S. Marco, and the deed of division drawn up by Mariotto, in MARCHESE, *u.s.*, ii., pp. 66 and following, 144, and 365.

[2] VASARI, iv. 184.

[3] The old frame bore the following lines: "Jacobo Huraldo Heduorum Episcopo Ludovici XII. francorum regis legato fidissimo senatus populusque Florentinus dono dedit anno MDXII." On the throne are the words: "Orate pro pictore. MDXI. Bartholomẽ Floree. or. præ." Wood, oil. No. 1,154 at the Louvre (see MÜNDLER, *Essai d'une analyse*, etc., 8°, Paris, 1850, p. 87). A note of the sale of the picture for 300 ducats to the Florentine Government, and of its gift to Monsignor di Othon (Autun) is in the memoranda of the Syndic of S. Marco (MS. *ap.* MARCHESE, *u.s.*, ii. 66 and 144).

the kindly, and the meditative for a broader style more natural to his spirit and education.

The background is a semi-dome with advancing pillars and a bold cornice, in the centre of which the Virgin sits on a pedestal and rests her feet on a stool. Her right hand is on the head of Christ, who stands at her knee with one leg on the stool, and, as he turns, giving the ring to the kneeling St. Catherine of Siena. This charming idea, rendered with Leonardesque elegance of lines, conveys a sense of great affection and veneration towards Christ on the part of his mother; not so much, however, by chosen type as by movements the softness of which emulates those of Raphael's Bella Giardiniera at the Louvre. The difference between Fra Bartolommeo and Sanzio now is that the friar applies the most rigid rules of da Vinci, whilst his friend has more sentiment and more colour. The saints in the presence have already a sternness of mien, a gravity of deportment, and a grandeur in the fall of their drapery which illustrate the expansion of the master's mind. The Child is no longer of tender age. Foreshortenings, of which the beginnings are noticeable in the flying angels of S. Romano at Lucca, become more hardy and more lifelike in the three boys who support the festoons of the daïs. Perspective generally is used with perfect correctness in the figures, which stand on their planes with extraordinary firmness. The tone is of a bright gay key, calculated for a particular place in S. Marco, though seen to little advantage in a gallery where one light serves for all; but it is also probable that the final glazings have been removed by cleaning.

The form which Fra Bartolommeo had thus given to a composition of frequent recurrence in past years, so perfectly suited the taste of the public that the atelier of S. Marco could not supply repetitions of it with rapidity equal to the demand; nor did the subalterns of the shop treat it with anything like the vigour and success of their chief, as is shown by the large example in the Academy of Arts at Florence.[1]

[1] Florence, Academy of Arts, No. 170. Wood, oil, figures life-size. Originally in Santa Caterina of Florence. The execution is weak, the colours at one painting, bricky and opaque, and the hand possibly that of Fra Paolino of Pistoia. [* This picture is now in the Museo di San Marco at Florence (Anticamera del refettorio grande, No. 8).]

A more successful combination of the hand of Mariotto with that of the Frate in 1511 is the Madonna between SS. Peter and Paul on the altar of the Mastiani family at S. Caterina of Pisa, where we admire the noble attitude of the Virgin holding the Child in benediction, as she rests her foot on the broken pediment of a column, and the grandiose air of the two saints standing in the full consciousness of solemn reverence on the foreground.[1] An inky tone pervading the surface is due to injuries caused by a fire that broke out in the church in the seventeenth century, but it is of interest to note upon the pedestal of the throne a motto and a date headed by a monogram repeated from a panel of 1510 assigned to Fra Paolino in the Imperial Gallery at Vienna —a monogram composed of a cross and two rings, which is to be found on a panel bearing the joint signatures of Fra Bartolommeo and Albertinelli at Geneva,[2] and on works hereafter to be mentioned by Fra Paolino or other assistants in the monastery of S. Marco.

Incomparably the grandest of the creations by the friar in company of Mariotto is that completed before the close of 1512 for S. Marco with a variation of the old theme, the Marriage of St. Catherine of Siena. Having been unaccountably given away to the Bishop " of some diocese " in 1588, it now adorns the Pitti collection, and bears the inscription: " 1512, orate pro pictore."[3] Fra Bartolommeo having reached this point in the treatment of his favourite subject, may be said to have exhausted it, and set at defiance all future attempts at improvement. In composition,

[1] The upper part of the panel is new, and most of its surface is repainted, except portions of the Infant Christ and the feet of the standing saints. The figures are life-size (in oil); and on the pedestal one reads: " Deposuit potentes de sede et exaltavit humiles. 1511." Records of payments for the picture to the Frate and Mariotto are in MARCHESE, ii. 69, 70, 144. [* This picture hangs now on the right wall of the first chapel to the right of the choir. Chronologically, the altarpiece painted by Fra Bartolommeo and Albertinelli for Jean Ferry Carondelet, and now in the cathedral at Besançon, should have been noticed in this connection. The first payment for it was made in 1511, and a second in 1512 (see *postea*, p. 97).]

[2] In Sainte Madeleine at Geneva are two wings of an altarpiece representing the Virgin and angel annunciate, with the monogram and the words: " Ffis Bartho or. p. et Mariotti Florentinoř. opus." [* These are now in the Geneva Museum.]

[3] No. 208, at the Pitti. Noted by VASARI (iv. 184 *sqq.*), ALBERTINI (*Mem.*, p. 12), and MARCHESE (ii. 75, 148).



Photo, Alinari

THE VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH SAINTS

BY FRA BARTOLOMMEO

From a picture in the Palazzo Pitti, Florence

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drawing, and relief, it was beyond his own power to come nearer perfection. Great as the charm had been with which he had invested the group of the Virgin and Child in the altarpiece of Bishop Hurault, he now infused new elements of beauty into it by increased grace in the shape and air of the Virgin, and by contrasting the turn of her head and frame with that of the Infant. Then, balancing the positions of the kneeling St. Catherines at the foot of the pedestal, and seating two boy-angels with viol and guitar on the steps of the throne, he reared the well-known pyramid of distribution. He placed a fine St. Michael in armour, and a St. Bartholomew erect in weighty position as mainstays on the foreground, uniting them by a circular chain of spectators in converse on the floor of the semi-dome. In rivalry with Raphael at times in bold foreshortening, he prodigally wasted his science in the reproduction of form and drapery, poising four lovely seraphs in flight under the festoons of the daïs. The whole is thrown upon the panel, as Vasari says, in so gallant a style as to leave the impression of a living scene. Yet it is more by truthful transition of neutral light and shade than by colour that Fra Bartolommeo obtained effect, the tone being reduced almost to a monochrome by the use of lamp-black; but here again the gallery is unfavourable to a work intended for a special place in a church, and the Marriage of the Pitti will not be seen to its best advantage till a niche is built expressly for it.

On the same principles, and under the same fortunate combination of circumstances it was that the splendid "Conception," which now adorns the Gallery of the Uffizi, was composed. With a versatility denied to all but a few, he formed another pyramidal arrangement of St. Anna in ecstasy on a plinth behind a beauteous Virgin watching the play of the Infant Christ and St. John. He brought down the lines to the extreme foreground by the help of four standing and kneeling worshippers, giving symmetry to the distribution by a company of saints at each side, by a choir of infant angels and cherubs with instruments, or singing from a book held aloft by their hands, and by two winged children at the foot of the throne. Had this grandiose creation been finished, it would have been the *chef d'œuvre* of Fra Bartolommeo. Having been left in its present condition, which is that of a mere rough

draught on the panel, with the drawing and preparation in brown. It is but a sketch, yet masterly as one by Buonarroti. Its interest is great, as revealing the growth of such a piece from its embryo to the first stage of completion. In certain sheets at the Uffizi we find the studies of the nudes and their subsequent repetition in drapery, designed, we believe, from the lay figure of which Fra Bartolommeo was the first to make use, in preference to the models of clay, familiar to Leonardo and Credi. We can therefore trace each step taken by the artist, from the moment of planning to that of putting in the contours and shadows. We mark with what science and depth of thought, with what method he kept to Leonardo's rules in dividing space, and in combining groups to advantage at various elevations in a given room, in order to attain a result by which several intricate problems are solved. But there is something more than science and method to be discerned, and that is the inspired air of the St. Anna, the weight, the dignity, and proud bearing of the saints, the masculine strength of the art evolved. If, on issuing from his cell, Fra Bartolommeo was desirous to soften his style, and for that reason endeavoured to temper it by looking at the works of Angelico and Perugino, his relations with Mariotto, the reminiscences of his youth, and the current of the age took him back in 1512 to the true breadth of the great Florentines.

How it was that this "Conception" was never carried out is a mystery the more difficult to explain, because in June, 1513, the Government of Florence advanced 100 ducats to the convent of S. Marco for it, and the receipt is preserved in the handwriting of the Syndic.[1] There is reason to suppose that the first inter-

[1] For the latter see MARCHESE, *u.s.*, ii. 364. The advance is proved by the following:

"Libro de Stanziamenti de' Signori e collegi dal 1513 al 1521.

"125. Die 10 Junii 1513. Item stantiarono che el camarlingo del monte che enterrà in uficio a dì primo di luglio proximo futuro del presente anno dia e pagha a frati, capitulo e convento di Santo Marco di Firenze e per loro al loro. . Sindicho e procuratore fiorini cento larghi d' oro in oro; sono per parte dipintura d' una tavola d' altare che si fa e lavora per frate Bartolommeo dipintore, frate in dicto convento, secondo l' allogazione factagli sotto dì 26 di Novembre 1510 da nostri magnifici et excelsi Signori, rogata per Ser Agnolo di Ser Alexandro Cascesi loro notajo. E la quale tavola finita sarà, si metterà in quello loco pubblico dove sarà giudicato da nostri excelsi Signori e savi e amorevoli cictadini de la nostra

ruption was caused by the parting of Fra Bartolommeo and Mariotto which occurred in January, 1512, and that others were caused by ill health.

In an evil hour for Mariotto, Santi Pagnini had been re-elected prior of S. Marco, and his instalment had not long taken place when the association was brought to a close. Albertinelli drew up the memorandum of dissolution on January 5, dividing the profits in equitable shares,[1] and stipulating at the close that "the properties hitherto in common should remain in possession of Fra Bartolommeo till his death, and then pass to Mariotto," *e.g.*, a wooden life-size figure, already mentioned, which is described by Vasari, and is said to be that now in the Guardaroba of the Florentine Academy;[2] another of smaller size with joints (*ganghere*, or hinges), a pair of compasses, and a "bambino" of gesso moulded from one by Desiderio in S. Croce.

The partners having been separated in this manner, Mariotto surrendered himself to a violent paroxysm of discontent; and in his spleen declared that he would rather keep an inn than continue his profession any longer.[3] Fra Bartolommeo resumed his duties without Albertinelli's help, and sickening in July of

città. E per fare piu facile dicto pagamento si comanda al dicto camarlingo del monte che dicti danari paghi del mese d'Ottobre proximo futuro del presente e non prima, in tutto fior. cento.

"Tulit frater Jeronimus Andræ de Ginis Sindicus et procurator, ut dixit, manu Ser Filippi Cionis sub die 31 Mai 1513." See also MARCHESE, ii. 67, 68.

[1] To the brethren of S. Marco. The altarpiece of S. Romano at Lucca (the Eternal, SS. Catherine, and Mary Magdalen), a head of Christ given by the convent to Lionardo Bartolini (? missing), a round of the Nativity (? missing), the altarpiece (now in an unfinished condition) at the Pitti.

To Mariotto. A round (no subject given), a Christ carrying his cross with the thieves (? missing), two pictures, subjects not named; an Annunciation, small, in the hands of the Gonfaloniere. [* Mariotto, moreover, received (see the memorandum in MARCHESE, ii. 418 *sqq.*) of unfinished pictures: a panel designed by "Filippo" (no doubt Filippino Lippi) which had been ordered for the Certosa di Pavia (*cf. antea*, v. 336, n. 3); a similar panel, designed by Fra Bartolommeo, which was to be sent to the Certosa; and "un quadretto bozato di mano di fra Bartolomeo, drentovi uno Adamo a sedere e un Eva ritta, circa uno ½ braccio." The last-mentioned picture, still in its unfinished state, is now in the collection of Mr. John G. Johnson of Philadelphia. See MATHER, in *The Burlington Magazine*, ix. 352, with reproduction; HORNE, *ib.*, p. 425 *sq.*]

[2] VASARI, iv. 196, and annot.

[3] Father Marchese very judiciously assigns to this time the resolution of Mariotto to keep an inn.

1514, was sent with his journeymen Fra Paolino and Frate Agostino to the country hospital of the Dominicans at Pian di Mugnone. Being allowed to throw some frescoes on the walls "for his diversion and recreation,"[1] he painted a Madonna in the Cappella del Monte, another in the refectory of the infirmary,[2] and, we believe, a third which alone has survived. Whatever his bodily ailings might have been, they did not affect his powers as an artist. Not even a momentary weakness affected his brush. As a "frescante" he stands at Pian di Mugnone on the high level that had become familiar to Andrea del Sarto; as a draughtsman and composer he maintains his old and just celebrity. What he represents is one of those moments in the life of a mother when the babe which is her delight and solace, suddenly clinging to her bosom and crowing with an irrepressible fondness, is folded as a priceless treasure to her heart. All this is shown in the cheery and sparkling expression of the Child's round and regular face, in the action of the Virgin who glues her cheek to his forehead and wraps her tunic in an agony of love about his limbs. If to this be added an exquisite taste and transparence in tones of excessive brightness, and great perfection of modelling we have an idea of Fra Bartolommeo's gifts at this time. His forms have none of the mildness of the earlier convent period, but are conspicuous by their breadth and solidity. In the Child the glance is that which Raphael gave to the Christ in the Sixtine Madonna; but the group is most reminiscent as a whole of the Virgin of the Seggiola.[3]

After leaving his forced retreat, Fra Bartolommeo all but repeated the Virgin and Child in a fresco of the Cappella del Giovanato at S. Marco, infusing a more ardent affection than before into the expression and movement of the mother of Christ; a greater life and flexibility into flesh of a true carnation.[4] He

[1] The record is in MARCHESE, *u.s.*, ii. 367, under date of July 10, 1514.

[2] *Ib.*, *ib.*, *ib.*

[3] The fresco is arched at top. The two figures are above life-size; the lower part of the Virgin's dress abraded. If any reproach can be made, it is that the forms of the Child are a little puffy. [* This fresco is now in the Museo di San Marco at Florence (upper floor, cell No. 12).]

[4] This fresco is greatly damaged, the shadows being altered by damp, and the Virgin's face full of scratches. The Child's head is the best-preserved bit. The

never, in the many Virgins and bust-pictures of the Redeemer and saints which were produced at this time—for instance, in the panels and frescoes that are his in the Academy of Arts at Florence[1] —rose to such genuineness of feeling or to such grave and noble individuality.[2]

Whether this boldness or freedom is attributable to a visit paid to Rome before the retirement of Pian di Mugnone, is a question likely to remain obscure. Vasari says "that the Frate was so frequently entertained with rumours of Raphael's and Michael Angelo's successes that in order to judge of the matter personally, he asked leave of the prior and went to Rome where Fra Mariano del Piombo gave him hospitality. His intention had been to repay this kindness by a present of a St. Peter and a St. Paul; but the air of the capital was so unfavourable to him that he was obliged to leave it, Raphael meanwhile consenting to give the last touches to the unfinished panels."[3] The sickness which forced the friar to Pian di Mugnone might, under these circumstances, be considered a consequence of the malaria of Rome. There is no doubt that Fra Bartolommeo would have found Sanzio at the Vatican in the spring of 1514. The death of Bramante had just occurred, and Fra Mariano had succeeded to the Piombo.[4] Some of the greatest frescoes of the age were in existence—by Raphael in the Camera della Segnatura, by Michael Angelo in the Sixtine chapel. The SS. Peter and Paul to which Vasari alludes at S. Salvestro, are now at the Quirinal, one of them evidently repainted, and the intromission of Raphael is supposed to be confirmed by a passage of Castiglione's *Cortigiano*. But, on the other hand, Vasari tells almost the same story of Albertinelli as he does of the Frate,[5] and contradicts

figures are above the life-size. A piece on the Infant's shoulder has scaled, and the Virgin's red mantle is altered by moisture. The date is only inferred from the style. [* This fresco is now also in the cell No. 12 on the upper floor of S. Marco.]

[1] Nos. 171, 173, 168. See also 377, at the Pitti, as described *postea*.

[2] See for these the list at the close of this chapter.

[3] VASARI, iv. 187 *sq.*

[4] Fra Mariano got the Piombo in March, 1514, at the death of Bramante (GAYE, *Cart.*, ii. 135).

[5] VASARI, iv. 225.

himself in the Life of Rosso by saying that Fra Bartolommeo left the Eternal city without having done anything.[1] The *Cortigiano* is rather contrary to the theory which assigns two panels of St. Paul and St. Peter to the monk's stay at Rome, because it describes Raphael busy in the presence of two cardinals with *one* picture in which were a St. Peter and a St. Paul;[2] and again, the memoranda of the Syndic of S. Marco declare that "Two 'quadri' of four braccia by Fra Bartolommeo, a St. Peter, and a St. Paul were valued at thirty ducats, but reduced in price to twenty-five in consequence of an imperfection in the St. Peter; and both were given away to S. Salvestro."[3] It is clear that, unless we admit the existence of replicas of these saints, we must doubt Vasari. The Apostles of S. Salvestro, now at the Quirinal,[4] are obviously those registered in the Syndic's memoranda, and done from the cartoons now in the Academy of Arts at Florence.[5] They are grand and stern; the St. Peter with mantle hanging over his right arm holding the keys, and the book pressed to his breast; the St. Paul looking out, and his hand on the hilt of a long sword. The colour of the first is reddish and rather opaque, the shadows of the head being taken up afresh, and the extremities being by another painter. The head of the second is corrected so as to leave the old contour visible; but the tone is transparent, and the execution exclusively that of Fra Bartolommeo.[6] Whoever may have been employed on the St. Peter, we do not fancy

[1] VASARI, v. 162.

[2] Bernardo Bibbiena in the *Cortigiano* relates:

"Di questo modo rispose ancòr Rafaello pittore à dui Cardinali suoi domestici, i quali per farlo dire, tassavano in presentia sua una tavola, ch' egli havea fatta, dove erano San Pietro, & San Paulo: dicendo, che quelle due figure erano troppo rosse nel Viso. Allhora Rafaello subito disse, Signori non vi maravigliate, che io questo ho fatto à sommo studio, perchè è da credere, che San Pietro & San Paolo siano, come quì gli vedete, ancòr in cielo così rossi, per vergogna, che la Chiesa sua sia governata da tali huomini, come sete voi" (*Il Cortigiano*, by BALDASSAR CASTIGLIONE, etc., 4°, London, 1727, book ii., p. 213).

[3] *Ap.* MARCHESE, *u.s.*, ii. 146.

[*4] After the conquest of Rome by the Italians, these pictures were handed over to the Pope, and after having long been exhibited in the Lateran Gallery, they are now in the new Pinacoteca Vaticana. The Apostolic Chamber acquired them from S. Salvestro in 1711. See LOEVINSON, in *L'Arte*, vii. 168 *sqq.*

[5] These were originally at S. Marco. [* They are now in the Uffizi.]

[6] Both panels 5 feet 10 inches in height. Each figure in a niche.

Raphael to have been that person; and we assume that if Fra Bartolommeo went to Rome, he did so for a few weeks of pleasure or for health, as on a previous occasion he had gone to Venice. The Virgin of Pian di Mugnone being a reminiscence of Raphael's Madonna della Seggiola, itself related in style to the Galatea of the Farnesina; the Virgin of Mercy of 1515 at Lucca, and the Resurrection of 1516 at the Pitti, having an imposing air, derived perhaps from study of Buonarroti, we might suppose that these results were due to a short but not unfruitful stay on the Quirinal. Yet to build any statement of fact on such an insecure foundation would be hazardous, and we must remember that examples of Raphael and of Michael Angelo were also to be seen in Florence.

There is no doubt in the meanwhile that, whatever the cause may have been, the Frate had gained a confidence and power which were the admiration of his contemporaries, and that after his convalescence, and as if to show certain fault finders how unfounded their reproaches were, he rapidly produced a succession of things well calculated to disarm all criticism. One of these, a naked St. Sebastian, exhibited publicly in S. Marco, is alleged to have convinced the Dominicans in their confessionals of the temptations which they had unwittingly thrown in the way of female penitents. It was therefore withdrawn to a safe privacy, from whence it only emerged to become lost to the history of the arts for ever.[1] But in 1515 Fra Bartolommeo's industry yielded no less than three masterpieces, one of which would alone suffice to give him renown. We allude to the Virgin of Mercy ordered by the Dominican, Lombardi de' Montecatini, now in S. Romano of Lucca; to the Madonna of the Hermitage at St. Petersburg,

[1] The St. Sebastian, according to Vasari, was sold to a dealer, and sent to France (VASARI, iv. 188, and annot.). It has been stated to be now in possession of a gentleman in Toulouse; and truly a picture with this subject does belong to a person dwelling in that city. But when the authors were at Toulouse, the canvas had been sent to Paris; and when they were in Paris, it had been taken away again. Connoisseurs in Paris, however, are inclined to consider this Toulouse piece beneath the powers of Fra Bartolommeo. (DAELLI'S *Carte Michelangiolesche inedite*, of which there are excerpts in GRIMM'S *Über Künstler und Kunstwerke*, 2nd Jahrgang, p. 101, give exact information as to the fate of the St. Sebastian. It was bought by one Tomaso Sartini for 300 ducats, and sold to the King of France.) [* Dr. KNAPP (*u.s.*, p. 266) notes this picture as in the possession of M. Charles Alaffre of Pézenas.]

and to the Annunciation at the Louvre. With every new effort of the Frate we are struck by the genius which succeeds in giving a new form and an unexpected novelty to an old subject. It is surprising with what abundance fresh poetry and thought are introduced into a well-worn theme by his high pictorial sense. The Virgin of the Lucca altarpiece[1] is in motion, so to say, on her pedestal, with one arm upstretched, and the other designating the crowd of her worshippers. Her face, expressing prayer and inspiring devotion, is turned upwards towards the Redeemer, Whom she alone can discern, as He majestically floats forward, winged in the flying folds of His dress, the fingers of His right hand in benediction. Between Him and the Virgin an angel raises a tablet with the aid of two others, whose winding ribbands are fast to its edges. Two boy-messengers loop up a capacious mantle, the green lining of which is a favourable background to the groups of adorers at each side of the foreground. Here you have people of both sexes, of different ages, thoughtful, tenderly meditative, eagerly demonstrative. The patron kneels, nobly gentle, and full of faith, and hears the explanation of a Dominican pointing to the Madonna. Before them a mother in joyful ecstasy grasps her babe, whilst a curly Infant peers over her shoulder shrouded in the cloak of the dame behind. Opposite to these, a recumbent female describes the scene to her child. The classic movement of the principal figure, the varied but always elegant attitudes and action of the remainder, are almost matchless instances of the mode in which scientific calculation gives nature as a result. In most of the minutiæ unusual power of observation is revealed. Nothing can be more pleasing than the manner of dividing the fingers with their play suggesting unconsciousness. Admirable are the draperies in which the folds are concentrated on the bends. The Redeemer is magnificently poised in air, and kept in place by judicious choice of tone and a circumambient vapour. Looking at the composition suddenly, its flesh-tints may be raw, its transitions from light to shade sudden; but as the eye by degrees takes in the whole, the atmosphere that permeates the space begins to appear, and the more we gaze, the more intense becomes our satisfaction; and we see the Frate

[1] Now in the Lucca Gallery, Sala I., No. 5.



Photo, Alinari

THE VIRGIN OF MERCY

BY FRA BARTOLOMMEO

From a picture in the Lucca Gallery

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illustrate an axiom described by Leonardo as essential to perfection. One could almost fancy that the words of da Vinci were intended to apply to the Virgin of Mercy, which is altogether according to his maxims. We enter into its darkest recesses, and glance from the lights and shadows to the half-tints that mottle the groups, as clouds cast a transparent darkness on the flatness of a landscape and vary its monotony.[1]

The Madonna of the Hermitage is a variation in oil of the frescoes of Pian di Mugnone and S. Marco, broad and weighty in the scantling of the frames, grandiose in movement rather than enticing by select mould of feature. Four winged children touch instruments or keep watch around her, as she sits on the ground and holds the spirited and smiling naked Child to her bosom; but full enjoyment is forbidden on account of a pallid opaqueness imparted to the colours by restoring.[2]

[1] "Certamente mostrò Fra Bartolommeo in questa opera possedere molto il diminuire l'ombre della pittura e gli scuri di quella, con grandissimo rilievo operando, dove le difficultà dell'arte mostrò con rara ed eccellente maestria e colorito, disegno ed invenzione" (VASARI, iv. 191).

On the tablet held up by the angels are the words: "Misereor super turbam." On the Virgin's pedestal: "mſ pietatis et miẽ. FS. OP.," which means: "Frate Sebastiano de' Montecatini, ord. prædicatorum," the arms of the family being in the middle of the letters. That the canvas was ordered for Fra Sebastiano is also proved by records, for which see MARCHESE, *u.s.*, ii. 109, note, and 144. On the lowest step of the throne: "MDXV. F. Bartholomeus or. pre. pictor Florentinus." The outlines in many parts are seen as they were first drawn with a pen. In other places they are freshened with a bold touch of the brush. The flesh lights as well as the shadows are in half-body, very broadly treated. Glazes are chiefly confined to the more distant parts, the light being concentrated on the front of the picture. Some hardness may be due to cleaning.

There is a small unfinished copy of this masterpiece, miscalled a sketch by Fra Bartolommeo, really of the seventeenth century, belonging to Signor G. B. Mansi, at Lucca. Another small modern copy, on copper, is also under the Frate's name (No. 4) in the Leuchtenberg Gallery at St. Petersburg.

[2] On a tablet in the upper part are the words: "Mater Dei. 1515." Below: "Bart. Florⁿˢ ord. prædicatorum." Wood, oil, No. 20. Hermitage at St. Petersburg, formerly belonging to Crozat. The shadows of the flesh-tints are retouched with liquid tints, and hence opaque. The pupils of the eyes and some outlines have also been repainted. There are spots where apparently old scaling was stopped, and the new stuff has become dark. The blue mantle of the Virgin is in a great measure repainted, with a certain loss of form resulting from the operation. It is not possible for this reason to say whether Fra Bartolommeo was alone or assisted in this piece.

The same art in remodelling a familiar incident is exhibited in the Annunciation at the Louvre as is shown at Lucca. The Virgin seated under a niche, and attended by standing or kneeling saints, bends backwards as she sees the messenger who flies down to her. It is clear that the latter was thrown off on the background of architecture at the moment when the rest was finished. The tones are warm and full of air, the execution is light and masterly, and some of the saints, the females kneeling in front especially, are Raphaelesque and feminine in grace and dignity. Fra Bartolommeo has reached a point where he defies every sort of difficulty.[1] It is the time when he may be supposed to have done the Isaiah and Job, and the sketch of the Eternal at the Uffizi.[2]

In spite of a passage in the memoranda of the Syndic of S. Marco, from which we learn that the Virgin of Mercy of S. Romano was sent from Florence,[3] Father Marchese is of opinion that Fra Bartolommeo painted it at Lucca, at the request of Santi Pagnini.[4] We may be allowed to doubt the force of his argument, without denying that the Frate's summer was partly spent in 1515 outside the walls of S. Marco. Although it is true that he entered into an agreement to furnish a Madonna and saints to Jacopo Panciatichi for a chapel in S. Domenico of Pistoia, on February 15, there is no evidence in the record itself to show that the friar was at Pistoia, nor, indeed, is there any proof that he ever performed the promise that he then made.[5] A fresco of the Virgin and Child, ascribed to della Porta, in S. Domenico, might indeed testify to his presence, and seems lined from one of his cartoons; but it is by Fra Paolino or some other disciple.[6]

[1] Louvre, No. 1,153. Small panel inscribed: "F. Barto. Floren. or^{s}. pre. 1515."

[2] The Isaiah, No. 1,126, at the Uffizi (VASARI, iv. 190), in grand movement, life-size, and warmly coloured.

The Job, No. 1,130, in the same gallery, of the same style, though not quite so fine. Both wood.

The Eternal, round, No. 1,152, a mere sketch, with two angels blowing trumpets, but the figures hardy in action and refined in form.

[3] MARCHESE, *u.s.*, ii. 144.

[4] *Ib.*, *ib.*, ii. 108.

[5] See the record in full in MARCHESE, ii. 368.

[6] The contours are wiry, and the colour washy. The group is finely outlined, but the forms and the drapery are not given with Fra Bartolommeo's grand boldness. The fresco has been removed from the convent into the church of S. Domenico.

If Fra Bartolommeo, however, was neither at Lucca nor at Pistoia, his health again drove him in October, 1515, to Pian di Mugnone, where he never came without bringing his tools. In order that time might not hang too heavily on his hands, he covered a lunette with a fresco of the Annunciation, the treatment of which discloses great breadth and facility. It is delightful to see the angel's eagerness in coming and giving the message, and the speaking profile of the head with its oblique bend.[1] The Virgin receives the announcement with joy, and gathers herself well together under the folds of her mantle, her form being perhaps too square and masculine. But this would be the work of a leisure hour[2] and might lead us to believe that the Frate remained but a short space at the hospital, preferring perhaps to wander away in another direction and look for his uncles at Suffignano whom he had not seen for years. Father Marchese quotes a contemporary diary, in which a pleasant description is given of the relatives' meeting and the lucky guess of the grand-nephew Pagolo di Vito, that the friar must be his grand-uncle Bartolommeo. When the moment of parting was near, the Frate said: "And now it may be long before we meet again, for the King of France has sent for me and wants to give me employment," from whence we learn that before Leonardo joined Francis I., an attempt had been made to engage the Dominican in the same service. Why the negotiation failed, we can now scarcely tell; but it is not unlikely that an event of the most painful interest to the Frate prevented him from leaving Florence. Mariotto, who had resumed the brush, fell sick at the end of October, 1515. The news of his illness necessarily reached Fra Bartolommeo, and brought him to his friend's bedside. We can imagine his grief when Albertinelli expired on November 5.

The inexhaustible nature of the Frate and his capacity for

Tolomei quotes the name of Fra Bartolommeo, however, in connection with this Virgin, on the strength of convent records, and says the patrons were the Fioravanti (TOLOMEI, *Guida*, *u.s.*, p. 109). [* On January 1, 1515, one Francesco di Filippo of Florence was apprenticed to Fra Bartolommeo (RIDOLFI, in *Giornale ligustico di archeologia, storia e belle arti*, v. 124).]

[1] A movement familiar in Andrea del Sarto.

[2] This fresco was done by the Frate on October 4, 1515, according to the convent record in MARCHESE, ii. 119, 368. Figures under life-size.

keeping art at its highest level, even when time and circumstances were combining to give a variety to his manner, are displayed in the results of his labours during 1516.

Foremost amongst the creations of that year is the Resurrection at the Pitti, in which he discloses anew his progress towards the true grandiose. The Saviour, on a pedestal in front of a classic block of architecture, rests on his left leg, before moving the right from a step. The sceptre is in one hand, and the other is raised in benediction. A splendid cast of drapery falls across the breast, and sweeps round to the hips and limbs. There is a bold foreshortening in the St. Matthew, who points outwards towards the spectator. Splendid gravity is in the features and pose of the St. Mark, on whose shoulder St. Luke rests his arm, whilst St. John speaks to St. Matthew.

This subject, ordered for Salvadore di Giuliano Billi, was placed in the SS. Annunziata de' Servi[1] in a framework comprising, it is said, the two prophets Isaiah and Job, now at the Uffizi. It may have been completed just after a sketch at Panshanger, in which we believe we see the apotheosis of a Dominican saint.

St. Antonino was a friar whom we recollect as the contemporary of Fra Giovanni, and of whom Vasari relates that Angelico recommended him to Nicholas V. for the Archbishopric of Florence. After his death the Order made strenuous efforts to secure his canonization, but invariably without success. When Leo X. made his solemn entry into Florence in the winter of 1515, and on the day of Epiphany, 1516, admitted the brethren of S. Marco to kiss the foot, he graciously whispered his intention to fulfil their wish, and left them swelling with pride at being favoured beyond all the religious communities of the Tuscan capital. Though Leo did not live to satisfy this pious desire, the brothers of S. Marco were prepared for a speedy fulfilment of his promise, and might in the meanwhile have intended to celebrate the occasion by the exhibition of a picture from the hand of their best artist. Fra Bartolommeo may thus have been induced to

[1] Now No. 159, Pitti Gallery. MARCHESE, ii. 123, 125, 145; VASARI, iv. 190; BALDINUCCI, viii. 279.

compose and finish, previous to its transfer to a panel of larger dimensions, the small one of Panshanger which, had it been so carried out, would probably have been the finest that he ever attempted. The body of the archbishop lies in state on a couch in the centre of a convent-yard, with friars about him, some on their knees grieving, others stooping over him, or trying to embrace his sandals; others, again, with tapers or prayer-books. Laymen at each side have gathered together in haste and great commotion, the nearest on each side of the foreground boldly set as pillars to support the framework of the composition; their weight increased by the architecture, and buildings of the court massively confined by high walls at each flank, and by lower ones in the distance, above which an orchard and hills are seen. In the background, the door of the church is open, with the head of the funeral procession about to issue from it; whilst amidst clouds, accompanied by angels bearing the throne, the lily, and crowns, the canonized saint ascends to heaven to meet the Eternal. Geometrical symmetry and balance are obtained with an ease almost unparalleled. Nothing like the truth or animation of the scene, the readiness and firmness of the movements, and the nature of the groups. With this, varied character and individuality of expression, perspective of atmosphere and of lines, massive transitions of light and shade, and a powerful tone in the key of a deep and sonorous bass.[1]

Looking at the excessive skill of Fra Bartolommeo, and considering the grandeur of his performances in 1516, we should attribute to that time five lunette portrait-busts of Dominicans in the lower dormitory of S. Marco at Florence; all of them superbly modelled and admirable specimens of stern gravity, though here and there injured by scratches, and not free from

[1] In this panel the colour is all half-body, through which the ground gesso appears, giving the whole its transparence. There are forty figures in all. The Eternal and the Procession at the church-door are barely sketched. Purchased at Florence.

There is another panel assigned to Fra Bartolommeo in this precious collection of Earl Cowper. [* Now belonging to Lady Desborough.] Subject, the Virgin, Child, St. Joseph, and a female saint in profile and the young Baptist kissing the Infant Christ—a fine approximation by the Sienese Beccafumi to the manner of the Frate; sweet in colour and very freely handled.

a certain vulgarity.[1] We should place in the same class as to date and merit the St. Mark and St. Vincent at the Pitti[2] and Academy,[3] both of which are illustrations of the power with which a plastic appearance may be given to the human shape by scientific calculation of light and shade, by select casts of drapery and vigorous tints.

But, in addition to these, we have the Holy Families of the Corsini Palace at Rome and of the Pitti at Florence, and the Presentation in the Temple in the Imperial Gallery at Vienna.

A distant likeness between the first of these Madonnas and Raphael's portrait of Maddalena Doni at the Pitti might warrant the assumption that the Holy Family at the Corsini Palace is that which Vasari calls a *chef-d'œuvre* done for Agnolo Doni.[4] The panel is a small jewel,[5] with the signature: "F. B. or. pr.[s] 1516."

The Virgin on a flowery meadow, holds the Child who struggles to cast his arms round the little Baptist's neck. St. Joseph looks smiling at this affectionate scene. It is a pyramidal arrangement, with a thorough combination of contours with chiaroscuro and aerial perspective. If anything, the figures are a little heavy and unselect. The Virgin, a fine matronly portrait in profile, with yellow hair in bands, covered by a falling veil, is reminiscent of Leonardo. Some forms are hard and dryly outlined, such as

[1] There are eight of these frescoes in San Marco, Florence. These frescoes are in that part of the monastery now occupied by the Accademia della Crusca, but three of them are modern. The first of those by Fra Bartolommeo is a friar with a star above his cowl and a lily in his left hand; with his right he orders silence. The second, with a red book and palm, is injured in the face by bayonet thrusts. The third reads in a red bound book. The fourth is preaching; and there are marks of an Eternal and angels having been on the background, near his head. The fifth and sixth are modern. The seventh is bare-headed, with rays diverging behind. The eighth is of the eighteenth century. We trust these injured masterpieces will be removed to a place of safety from their present dark recesses. MARCHESE mentions them (ii. 131).

[2] The St. Mark is No. 125, at the Pitti, in oil and on canvas (VASARI, iv. 189).

[3] The St. Vincent is No. 58, at the Academy of Arts; wood, oil (VASARI, iv. 189). Both were originally in S. Marco, the latter now much dimmed.

[4] VASARI, iv. 183.

[5] Rome, Palazzo Corsini, No. 579. Wood, oil, 4 feet 6 by 2 feet 2 inches. A copy of a later time from this Holy Family is in the Musée Fabre at Montpellier, No. 624, named Fra Bartolommeo.



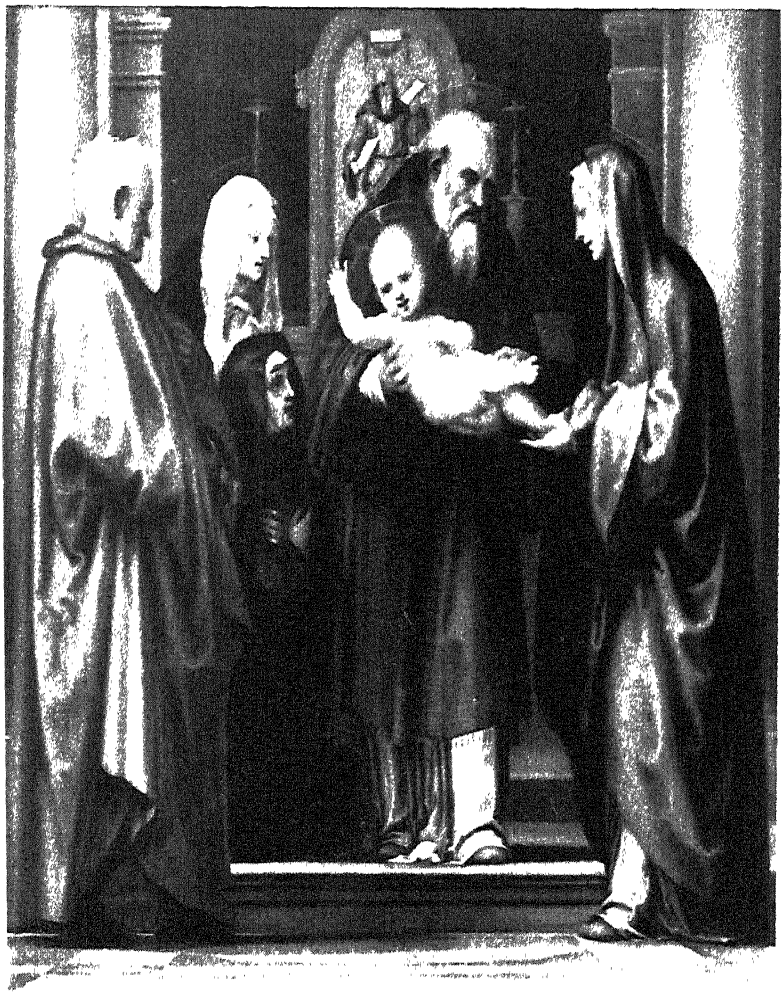
Photo, Alinari

ST. MARK

BY FRA BARTOLOMMEO

From a picture in the Palazzo Pitti, Florence

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Photo, Hanfstaengl

THE PRESENTATION IN THE TEMPLE

BY FRA BARTOLOMMEO

From a picture in the Imperial Gallery, Vienna

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the legs and articulations of the Baptist; and the instant action of the Infant Christ's limbs is incorrect, but the touch is masterly. The drawing appears generally beneath the colour. In certain spots there is strong impasto of enamel finish with bituminous shadows, in which one sees the track of the brush in Rubens' manner. Elsewhere we have a system like that of Rembrandt in dark bits struck with speed and decision over the semi-transparent brown preparation. The most charming feature of all, perhaps, is the landscape, in which a glowing vapour suggests comparison with the distances of Titian. The Frate has acquired all the tricks of hand that betoken long experience, tricks unhappily, too easy to be caught, as they were in the sixteenth century, by men who had not the necessary ballast of education to justify their use of them.[1]

The Holy Family at the Pitti is almost an inverted replica of that of the Corsini palace. But the central group of the Virgin and two children is balanced by St. Joseph and St. Elizabeth; and the background is a green curtain. The composition is Leonardesque; the forms to a certain extent conventional.[2]

The Presentation in the Temple, at Vienna, a magnificent conception, sins by shortness of stature in the personages, and has been deprived of harmony by the removal of glazes; but there are few subjects due to Fra Bartolommeo in which there is a softer gravity or a more melancholy beauty.[3]

To this long catalogue of masterpieces historians have always added an "Assumption" at Prato, registered by Vasari, supposed by some to have disappeared, and by others to be identical with that which now graces the walls of the Berlin Museum.[4] No

[1] A slight disharmony between the flesh-tints and landscape may be due to cleaning. Some holes here and there in the surface of the panel have been stopped. The boy Baptist is partly unfinished, partly retouched.

[2] Pitti, No. 256; not free from cleaning and old restoring. [* Practically the same composition—minus the figure of St. Joseph—is seen in a fine picture by Fra Bartolommeo in the collection of Sir Frederick Cook at Richmond (signed "F. Bart. or: is predic. floren. 1516"). A picture in the National Gallery (No. 1,694) repeats the group of the Virgin and the children only, and is probably not by the master himself.]

[3] Vienna, Imperial Gallery, No. 41. Wood, oil, inscribed: "1516. Orate pro pictore olim sacelli hujus novitio" (VASARI, iv. 196).

[4] VASARI, iv. 193; annot., *ib.*; MARCHESE, ii. 117.

very diligent search is required to trace the locality in which it may be found. The Assumption of Prato is not at Berlin, but in the great Salone of the Naples Museum; an arched panel with life-size figures;—of the Virgin ecstatically raising her face and hands to heaven as she bends prostrate on a cloud, accompanied by two boy-angels, of SS. John the Baptist and Catherine of Alexandria kneeling at the foot of her tomb.[1] To describe the quality of this "Assumption" would be but to repeat the praise given to other works of 1516, the year in which the Frate seems to have exhausted his strength by over-exertion.

Fra Bartolommeo sickened so seriously in the beginning of 1517, it was thought necessary that he should take the baths of S. Filippo.[2] He subsequently proceeded to Ferrara, where (June, 1517) he had some artistic relations with the Duke Alphonzo, and delivered a head of Christ to Lucrezia Borgia.[3] He finally tried Pian di Mugnone for the last time, leaving there a Vision of the Saviour to the Magdalen, which is almost equal in power to anything previous,[4] and then he came back to Florence where, on August 3, 1517, he died of a malignant fever. His death, at the early age of forty-two, was an irreparable loss to the Dominicans, who buried him with great honour in S. Marco.[5]

His furniture and tools, which would have passed to Mariotto had he been living, were hoarded as treasures for a long time. Many of the cartoons were used by Fra Paolino and others, and

[1] It is said that the Assumption of Prato bore the date of 1516. The panel at Naples hangs high up in the Salone, so that the date may be there though unseen by the authors of these pages. [* This picture—now under No. 4 in the Sala VI. of the Naples Museum—bears, in fact, the signature: "1516. F. Bart. or : is pr : "] The colour is altered by flaying. There is an original drawing of the work in the Pitti Gallery.

[2] VASARI, iv. 199.

[3] Compare Marchese CAMPORI'S *Relazioni degli Studi fatti nell' Archivio palatino di Modena presentata nella tornata del* 17 *gennaio*, 1862, p. 3. Where this head of Christ came to is unknown.

[4] The fresco is in a small chapel near the entrance to the Ospizio of Pian di Mugnone. The Saviour, holding a hoe, turns away from the longing Magdalen; his frame is broad and square as compared to hers; her features expressive. The lines of the landscape are grand; and the scene is impressed with a stamp of unusual life and truth. The fresco is a little spotted and eaten away by time.

[5] Cujus obitus . . magno fuit omnibus detrimento. . . . Erat autem Diaconus (Obituary in MARCHESE, ii. 369). But see also *Tav. alfab.*

Bugiardini even completed some of the unfinished pieces. But upon this point some errors may have been handed down to us.

It has been usual to follow Vasari in affirming that the Pietà at the Pitti[1] received its last touches from Bugiardini; yet the evidence of this is not to be found in the execution. It is admitted that the composition is one of those that Fra Bartolommeo carried out most completely. The naked corpse of the Messiah is raised from a recumbent to a half-erect position by St. John Evangelist, whilst the Virgin, with excessive love, supports his head and left arm, the Magdalen embracing his legs in an agony of grief. The group realizes at once all the precepts considered as final in the sixteenth century. It is a modification and an advance upon Perugino's, combining all the tenderness of the Umbrian with greater selection, astonishing individuality, pure nature, and refined feeling. It is not possible to cite an instance in which a lifeless form is rendered with more flexibility, or with more anatomical accuracy. As regards foreshortening, the Magdalen is unsurpassed. We cannot admit that Bugiardini should have done any more than the two figures at the sides, which, by some accident, of which the details have been lost, were subsequently obliterated.[2]

In order not to extend these remarks to an unwarrantable length, we make out a list of Fra Bartolommeo's remaining works (genuine and the reverse) in the most convenient order that presents itself.

[1] Pitti Gallery, No. 64.

[2] VASARI says (iv. 197) that the Frate began the picture in S. Gallo which was finished by Bugiardini. He adds in the Life of Bugiardini (vi. 203) a description of the subject, including two figures at the sides, of SS. Peter and Paul, saying that the panel was only drawn and shadowed in water-colour. We cannot help fancying there is an error in this statement; and we think the figures of St. Paul and St. Peter were removed because they were out of harmony with the beauty of the principal group. A fine copy of this beautiful picture is in the gallery at Altenburg. [* An old copy of the Pietà in its intact condition, including the figures of SS. Peter and Paul, belongs to Signor Francesco Brusa of Rome. It is interesting to observe how this composition served as a model for Andrea del Sarto's Deposition of 1524, now in the Pitti (No. 58). Fra Bartolommeo's picture was, in consequence of the siege of Florence in 1527, brought from S. Gallo to S. Jacopo tra i fossi; it was still in the latter church in 1591, but no longer so in 1671. See FIOCCO in *L'Arte*, xvi. 419 *sqq.*]

Florence. Academy of Arts, Nos. 171, 173. Two rounds, in each a Virgin and Child (frescoes); both rapidly done at one painting without previous outlining; gay in tone, almost equal to those of Pian' di Mugnone and S. Marco. *No.* 168. Ten paintings in one frame. Upper row: Five frescoes: (1) Figure of Christ, like a Fra Paolino. (2) St. Peter Martyr (?) imposing silence, a grand apparition of a friar. (3) A monk of grave mien (a little injured). (4) St. Catherine, in Fra Bartolommeo's manner, and of a very elegant gentleness. (5) St. Chiara, less good, and probably by Fra Paolino. Lower row: Five squares, four of them in fresco, one in oil. The latter—(1) Bust of Christ carrying his Cross, on canvas, with the line " Orate pro pictore 1514 "; of a thin colour, darkened by time. (2) St. John the Baptist, original. (3) Profile of a St. Anthony the Abbot, perhaps by a disciple of Fra Bartolommeo (? Sogliani). (4) A female saint (? the Magdalen), of soft air; genuine. (5) St. John the Baptist, of the sixteenth century.[1] (This number is made up of pieces taken from S. Marco, those by the Frate all dating from 1510 to 1514.) A copy of the Christ carrying His cross, in the Palazzo Corsini, Lung' Arno, at Florence (No. 239), is called Francesco Francia,[2] but is by a disciple of the Frate.

Florence. Pitti, No. 377. Ecce Homo; bust, fresco. The head of the same stamp as that in No. 168 at the Academy, but of the Frate's early Leonardesque time, of mild aspect, delicate, and hatched.

Florence. Uffizi, No. 1,235. Wood, oil. A small Virgin, kneeling near a plinth on which the Infant is seated. From a Raphaelesque composition of the Frate, by an inferior hand imitating him.

Florence. S. Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi. Sacristy. Centre of an altarpiece, the sides of which are by Sebastian Mainardi (see *antea*, iv. 339). Subject, a saint, life-size, in a niche; wood, oil, repainted over an older one. The character, mould, movement, and drapery, are not unlike those of the SS. Paul and Peter at the Quirinal; but the condition under which the colour was laid in makes it a little opaque. The art, however, is that of Fra Bartolommeo.

Florence. Gallery of the Marchese Pianciatichi,[3] *No.* 108. Half-length of the Magdalen; wood, oil; damaged, and reminiscent of Bugiardini. *No.* 12. Virgin and Child (life-size), composed in the Frate's fashion, and the landscape not unlike his; retouched, and of a milky transparence, and now resembling a Mariano da Pescia (wood,

*[1] This head is now officially stated to be by the Florentine painter, Alessandro Gherardini (1655-1723).

*[2] It is now no longer so.

*[3] This collection is now dispersed.

oil). *No.* 322. Virgin, Child, St. Anne, St. Joseph, and three angels; a sketch, an old and fine copy of a picture by Fra Bartolommeo.

Milan. Casa Poldi Pezzoli. In this collection we find a small tabernacle assigned by G. Bossi (*Let. pit.*, vi. 417) to Raphael, by Passavant (ii. 407) to Fra Bartolommeo. It represents the Virgin and Child between St. Catherine of Alexandria and St. Catherine of Hungary, with the angel and Virgin annunciate in monochrome on the outside of the wings. The ciphers "MD." on the framing beneath the Madonna indicate the period of execution. This little gem is one of the most interesting and finished examples of Fra Bartolommeo in existence. It once belonged to Signor Camillo Fumagalli at Milan.[1]

Cortona. Signor Passerini. Virgin giving the breast to the Infant Christ (wood, oil), a subject in which the Frate was not less at home than Raphael. The Child a little heavy, the period of execution about that of the Holy Family in the Corsini Palace at Rome. The ground is injured and renewed, leaving traces of a saint in the left-hand corner. It is many years since the authors saw this Virgin, which has since been missing (see *postea* for a copy of it in the Holford collection).

Siena. Academy. Stanza dei Quadri di diverse Scuole, No. 451. St. Mary Magdalen (wood, oil, half life-size). *No.* 564. St. Catherine of Alexandria. On the latter, the cross and rings, monogram of the atelier of S. Marco during the partnership of the Frate and Mariotto, and the date 1512. These two saints were once in S. Spirito of Siena, where Fra Paolino and Fra Agostino, Dominican assistants to Fra Bartolommeo, are known to have been. They are graceful and neatly done, but beneath the powers of the Frate; a little cold in the shadows, clean, and wanting in massiveness of light and shade. They look as if they might be by Fra Paolino, to whom a picture at Vienna with the same monogram and the date of 1510 is given, or at all events as if here the Pistoian had a large part in a work belonging to the association.

Lucca. Villa Saltocchio. Five miles from Lucca is the Villa of Conte Bernardini, where there is a pretty round of the Nativity, being probably that registered in the memoranda of the Syndic of S. Marco at Florence as sold for 20 ducats (*circa* 1513–16) to "Giovanni Bernardini Lucchese" (Marchese, ii. 144). The size of the figures is

*[1] Morelli (*Die Galerien Borghese und Doria Panfili*, p. 156) was no doubt right in giving this picture to Mariotto Albertinelli. It is, of course, akin to Fra Bartolommeo; but the type of the Virgin and the daintiness which marks the style generally clearly point to Albertinelli as the painter.

one-third that of life, their style a mixture of Fra Bartolommeo and Mariotto.[1]

Venice. Galleria del Seminario, No. 18. Virgin and Child (wood, oil, half life-size). Pretty, in its old pilastered frame, softly coloured, but with more smorphia and carefulness than was proper to the Frate; reminiscent of him, however, and suggesting the names of Mariotto, or even Fra Paolino, but superior to others at the Borghese and Sciarra collections in Rome, and the Corsini Gallery in Florence, in which the latter may have had a share. The flesh is somewhat restored. The distance is a landscape with angels in the upper part.[2]

Venice. Duchess of Berri.[3] Round of the Virgin, Child, infant Baptist, and St. Bartholomew, in the character of the Brescianini of Siena.

Turin. Gallery, No. 121. Round, wood, oil. Virgin, Child, and angels, also in the superficial manner of the Brescianini, and reddish in tone. *No.* 118. Holy Family, called Francia Bigio, the counterpart, as to execution, of No. 121.

Modena. Gallery. Catalogue of 1854, *No.* 483. Virgin and Child. *No.* 465. Ditto. Very different from anything by the Frate.

Rome. Gallery of the Capitol, No. 50. Presentation in the Temple (12 figures), partly repainted in the seventeenth century; the rest not unlike Giacomo Francia, particularly in the St. Anna.

Rome. Galleria Borghese, No. 310. Nativity, dated 1511, with the monogram of S. Marco (see Fra Paolino).

Rome. Palazzo Sciarra Colonna. Room IV., No. 1. Virgin, Child and young Baptist, with the monogram of S. Marco (see Fra Paolino).

Florence. Gallery of Prince Corsini. Holy Family with the monogram of S. Marco (see Fra Paolino).

Brescia. Galleria Martinengo. Nativity (wood, oil, figures life-size); composition perhaps by the Frate; the tones heavy, flat, and without relief, probably by Sogliani.

Vienna. Imperial Gallery, No. 34. Virgin and Child (half-length, wood, oil), placed high up, but seemingly opaque in colour, perhaps by a pupil of the Frate. The same Virgin and Child, more like a Fra Bartolommeo than this of Vienna, is in the Pitti (No. 242) under the name of Puligo.

*[1] According to Dr. KNAPP (*u.s.*, p. 260), there is a studio replica or rather old copy of this picture in the Gallery at the Hague (No. 306).

*[2] The name of Mariotto Albertinelli may, indeed, without hesitation be accepted for this work (*cf.* MORELLI, *u.s.*, p. 156 *sq.*).

*[3] Present whereabouts unknown.

Vienna. Harrach Gallery. Virgin with her hand on her bare breast, and the Child on her knee, his hand also on her breast, and holding an orb. Wood, oil, by a follower of Sogliani, but repainted in the flesh. The movement of the Christ is reminiscent of Bronzino.

Vienna. Count Czernin. Profile of a friar looking up; of the close of the sixteenth century.

Berlin. Museum, No. 249. Assumption. Figures life-size, wood, oil. The distribution and drawing are those of Fra Bartolommeo, of the time when he and Mariotto were associates, and the lower part more particularly like Albertinelli. The comparative rawness of the colour may be due to the abrasion of the final glazes.[1]

Munich. Pinakothek, No. 1,079. Virgin and Child (canvas), not by Fra Bartolommeo, but a copy of a Madonna in the Baring Gallery in London. See *antea*, Spagna.

Munich. Pinakothek, No. 1,065. Wood, oil. The Infant Christ on the ground between the kneeling Virgin and St. Joseph. Not by the Frate, but a feeble and superficial production stamped with the impress of the school of Granacci.

Munich. No. 1,075. Virgin, Child, and St. Joseph. Wood, oil. From the collection of Mme. Dubois in Paris, where it was bought by King Ludwig I. Not genuine. Coloured of a vitreous enamel, with dark warm shadows reminiscent of the style of Michele di Ridolfo, Puligo, or the Brescianini of Siena.[2]

London. Stafford House, No. 88. Wood, oil, life-size. The Virgin in profile with the Infant Christ holding a reed cross, and the young Baptist in rear. The composition seems an imitation of those by the Frate and Raphael; but the handling is more modern, like that of a follower of Correggio. Such at least is the aspect of the piece at present, but whether this is due to the obvious repainting of the panel, or to other causes, cannot be decided.[3]

London. Grosvenor House, No. 177. Wood, oil, small. Virgin and Child under a conical daïs, the curtain of which is raised by two angels. In front, SS. Jerome and Mary Magdalen on their knees. The subject is arranged in the method of the Frate, and of Mariotto; it is pleasing and careful, but betrays an effort by, say, Michele di Ridolfo, to imitate the masters above named.

*1 *Cf. antea*, p. 67, n. 1.

*2 It may, indeed, without doubt, be assigned to Andrea del Brescianino, as has now also been done officially.

*3 Not included in the Stafford House sale, July 11, 1913.

London. Holford Collection. Panel altarpiece, oil. Virgin and Child enthroned, and two angels holding a piece of tapestry above her. At the sides the kneeling St. Sebastian and a friar. Feeble, washy, of life-size figures, by an artist later than the Frate and Mariotto.

Same Collection. Life-size Virgin holding the Infant, who lays two fingers of his hand on her bare breast; a copy of the Virgin once belonging to Signor Passerini of Cortona.

London. Baring Collection.[1] Sketch, part outlined, part coloured, of the Holy Family: traces only of the St. Joseph being in the background to the left. The hands of the Virgin painted, not done in the mode of Fra Bartolommeo or his pupils, and seemingly more modern; a little mannered and affected, too, as if by Raphael dal Colle in his old age.

London. Lord Taunton (Ex-Stoke Park).[2] Virgin and Child, the latter on a parapet, between St. Lawrence and a bearded saint. Wood, oil, life-size. This is a mixture of Fra Bartolommeo and Andrea del Sarto, and not improbably by Puligo, the forms exaggerating the system of drawing of del Sarto, and the Virgin's head being an inspiration from one of the Frate's. The colour is somewhat sombre, and not absolutely satisfactory in the transitions from light to shadow.

London. Collection of the late Sir Anthony Stirling. Crucifixion between the Virgin and Evangelist, a little miniature panel, of most careful execution, quite with the impress of the Frate's school, in the character of Albertinelli also, and at the same time like a fresco in S. Spirito of Siena. The painter may therefore be Fra Paolino. The intonation warm and the drapery broadly cast.

London. George A. Hoskins, Esq. (No. 210 at Manchester). Virgin, Child, and saints, not on the level of the powers of Fra Bartolommeo.[3]

London. Abraham Darby, Esq. (No. 93 at Manchester.) Marriage of St. Catherine, inscribed: "Orate pro pictore"; superficial, feeble, by some follower of the Frate and Fra Paolino.

Bristol (near). Sir William Miles, Bart., of Leigh Court. The Virgin with the naked Child holding on with his right hand to the bosom of her dress. A fine life-size picture, but without the high qualities of Fra Bartolommeo. The mixture of della Porta and Andrea del Sarto might lead one to assign it to Puligo. The tints are gay, almost gaudy.[4]

*1 Now in the collection of the Earl of Northbrook.

*2 Possibly now in the collection of the Hon. Mrs. E. Stanley, of Quantock Lodge, Bridgewater.

*3 Bought at the Hoskins sale (June 18, 1864, No. 171) by "Wilsson."

*4 This picture was bought at the sale of the Leigh Court Gallery (June 28,

Cheltenham (near). Late Northwick Collection, No. 95. Round: Holy Family; like a Sogliani. *No.* 101. Holy Family. *No.* 111. SS. Bartholomew, Biagio, and Nicholas. *No.* 899. Holy Family; not by the Frate.

Glasgow (near). Hamilton Palace. Breakfast Room.[1] Holy Family. The Child on the Virgin's lap, blessing the young Baptist kneeling to the left, St. Joseph in rear to the right. Behind, a wall and a landscape. In front, a cup out of which a finch is drinking (wood, half life-size). The Virgin and St. Joseph are apparently taken from Fra Bartolommeo; the two children are reminiscent of Raphael. The handling is like that of Bugiardini or Sogliani.

Gosford House. Earl of Wemyss. Virgin enthroned with the Child holding a cross, under a niche, a graceful, small thing, of a golden tinge, in the mode of Fra Bartolommeo, but without his weighty and superior style. We believe the author to be Mariotto Albertinelli.

England. Lord Wenlock. Two friars (exhibited, 1853, at the British Institution). These are of the Frate's school.

The following is a list of pieces not seen by the authors:

Geneva. See *antea*, p. 74.

Besançon. Cathedral. Assumption by Fra Bartolommeo. It was first placed by the chancellor of Flanders, Jean Carondelet, Archbishop of Palermo (1469–1544), in his family chapel in S. Etienne of Besançon. It came later into the cathedral. It represents the Virgin and Child on a throne, which is carried on clouds by angels. Below stand (left) SS. John Baptist, Sebastian, and Stephen. Right, kneeling, the patron, Jean Carondelet, with St. Bernard and another saint behind him. On the foreground are roses. Distance, landscape. Of the master's best time (PASSAVANT, annot. to SCHORN'S *Vasari*, in *Kunstblatt*, 1844, No. 28).[2]

1884, No. 4), by Mr. Dyer. It was subsequently in the collection of the late Sir William Farrer, and was acquired at the Farrer sale (March 23, 1912, No. 28) by Mr. Wagner.

*[1] Bought at the Hamilton Palace sale (July 1, 1882, No. 711) by Messrs. Colnaghi.

*[2] This panel was executed by Fra Bartolommeo and Mariotto Albertinelli jointly. Twenty ducats were received as earnest money for it in 1511, and a further payment is recorded in 1512 (MARCHESE, ii. 75; *cf. ib.*, p. 160 *sq.*]. The upper part of the picture, representing the Coronation of the Virgin, was subsequently cut away (probably when the picture, in the eighteenth century, was moved from one chapel to another); three fragments of it now in the Stuttgart Gallery (No. 427) are noticed by the authors, *postea*, p. 110 *sq.*

Foligno. Signor Gregori. Holy Family. Virgin seated with the Infant on her lap, playing with its hands in the beard of St. Joseph, who stands by. Below, the little Baptist looks up at the Infant Christ. PASSAVANT (*Raphael*, ii. 409) thinks the work (which is assigned to Raphael) by Fra Bartolommeo.

Paris. Galerie Abel. Madonna del Cappuccino. Said to be commenced by Fra Bartolommeo, finished by Raphael. Subject: Virgin and Child, St. Francis kneeling between angels, and the young Baptist giving fruits to the Saviour (see MARCHESE, ii. 47). PASSAVANT (*Raphael*, ii. 413) says Raphael, at all events, had nothing to do with this piece.[1]

Florence. Signor Ricasoli. Head of Christ on a tile (MARCHESE, ii., p. 128).

Florence. Cav. Baldelli. A Nativity (MARCHESE, ii. 128).[2]

Florence. Signor Volpini. Holy Family (VASARI, annot., iv. 196).

Perugia. Palazzo Penna. Dead Christ, Virgin, and two apostles (MARCHESE, ii., note to p. 81).[3]

The following are missing:

Florence. Madonna, belonging to Pier Maria delle Pozze (VASARI, iv. 176). A Nativity for Giovanni Cardinal de' Medici (*ib.*, *ib.*, 183). Various Madonnas in Casa Medici (*ib.*, *ib.*, 193 *sq.*). Virgin in Casa Capponi (*ib.*, *ib.*, 194). Virgin, Child, and two saints in Casa Lelio Torelli (*ib.*, *ib.*, *ib.*). St. George and the Dragon, Casa Pier del Pugliese (*ib.*, *ib.*, *ib.*).[4] Compagnia de' Contemplanti, later in possession of Ottaviano de' Medici, a panel of which no subject is given (*ib.*, *ib.*, 196).[5] Palazzo Niccolini. Holy Family (RICHA, *Chiese*, viii. 48).

* 1 It was purchased in 1843 by Sir George Shee, British Minister at Stuttgart (see C. VON FABRICZY in *L'Arte*, x. 226).

* 2 This picture is now in the collection of the Marchese Visconti Venosta of Rome.

* 3 The following is a list of extant pictures by Fra Bartolommeo that have not yet been mentioned:

Cambridge, U.S.A. Fogg Museum. The Sacrifice of Cain and Abel (see BRECK, in *Rassegna d'arte*, ix. 171, with reproduction).

Charlecote Park, Warwick. Sir Henry Fairfax-Lucy. The Holy Family with the Infant St. John and two angels. (A very charming, rather early little picture, hitherto unpublished.)

London. Mond collection. The Holy Family (small). Same subject (large).

* 4 A drawing by Fra Bartolommeo in the Grand Ducal Library at Weimar, representing a young warrior on a careering horse, is probably a study for this work (BERENSON, No. 514, reproduced in KNAPP, *u.s.*, p. 197).

* 5 This is in all probability the Assumption now at Berlin (*cf. antea*, p. 67, n. 1).

Badia di Settimo. Virgin giving the breast to the Infant (*ib.*, *ib.*, ix. 225).

Arezzo. Badia de' Monaci Neri. Monochrome, head of Christ (VASARI, iv. 196).

Viterbo. S. Maria della Quercia. Resurrection of Christ and Coronation of the Virgin (VASARI, vi. 247; and MARCHESE, ii. 87).

Before taking leave of S. Marco, in which so many masterpieces were produced in the course of a century, we pause for a moment to say a few words of Fra Paolino, who has become inseparable from his superior Fra Bartolommeo. He was born about 1490 at Pistoia,[1] and received the first rudiments from his father Bernardino d'Antonio del Signoraccio, a local artist of the feeblest kind, to whom some works are still assigned.[2] He became a novice at a tender age, and is supposed to have taken orders in S. Domenico of Prato; from whence he was transferred with della Porta to S. Marco. There he was the helpmate of the Frate and of Mariotto, assisting them in the execution of pictures which still bear the monogram of the atelier. Of these, the earliest and best are: One under his name dated 1510, a Virgin and Child amidst saints, in the Imperial Gallery at Vienna; and two saints in the Academy of Siena (1512), catalogued as by Fra Bartolommeo.[3] Equally early, but of less value, are a Nativity of 1511 in the Galleria Borghese; a Virgin, Child, and youthful Baptist in the Palazzo Sciarra Colonna, at Rome; a Madonna with the Infant, the Baptist, and St. Joseph (1511) in the palace of Prince Corsini, and a Virgin and Child in the Antinori Palace at S. Gaetano, in Florence.[4] Such a man as Fra Paolino would naturally do better or worse, according as

[1] The Register of Deaths of S. Domenico at Pistoia contains Fra Paolino's eulogy, describing him as having died, aged *circa* 57, in 1547 (TIGRI, in MARCHESE, ii. 370).

[2] Pistoia, S. Lorenzo. Virgin and saints, inscribed: "Bernardinus Ant° Pistorien. pĩs." S. Felice (outside). Virgin and saints with the signature: "Bernardinus Antonii de Pistorio pinsit. 1502." S. Gio. Fuorcivitas, St. Roch, with the words: "Bernardino Vecchio. 1532. Pistoriensis p. Prete Giuliano d'Antinoro fecit fieri" (TOLOMEI, *Guida, u.s.*, pp. 79, 102, 198, 199). [* In 1517–18 Bernardino was working at Spezia. See MAZZINI, in *Bollettino storico pistojese*, vii. 119.]

[3] See *antea*, p. 93.

[4] In 1513 Fra Paolino modelled two figures of earth, which were afterwards placed in S. Maria Maddalena of Pian di Mugnone (MARCHESE, ii., p. 207).

the person who controlled him paid more or less attention to his labours. We need not for this reason hesitate to class under one head productions like those of Vienna, Siena, Rome, and Florence, the last of which are much below the first. For in spite of the difference in merit apparent in them, they all have the same general stamp.[1] That Fra Paolino was indebted for instruction chiefly to Fra Bartolommeo is shown by the fact that the Crucifixion undertaken by him in S. Spirito of Siena (1516) was till lately considered to have been by della Porta.[2] He had free run of the sketches, drawings or cartoons of the latter, and by that means frequently concealed his own deficiencies as a composer and draughtsman. His most successful effort as an executant is the Madonna of Vienna. Colour, on panel or convas, is constantly bricky, opaque, and inky in shadow; contours are wiry and mechanical, faces vulgar, and drapery unnecessarily cut up with detail. In fresco, his brush is washy and powerless; relief by light and shade is scarcely attained at all, and lifeless stiffness is the consequence.

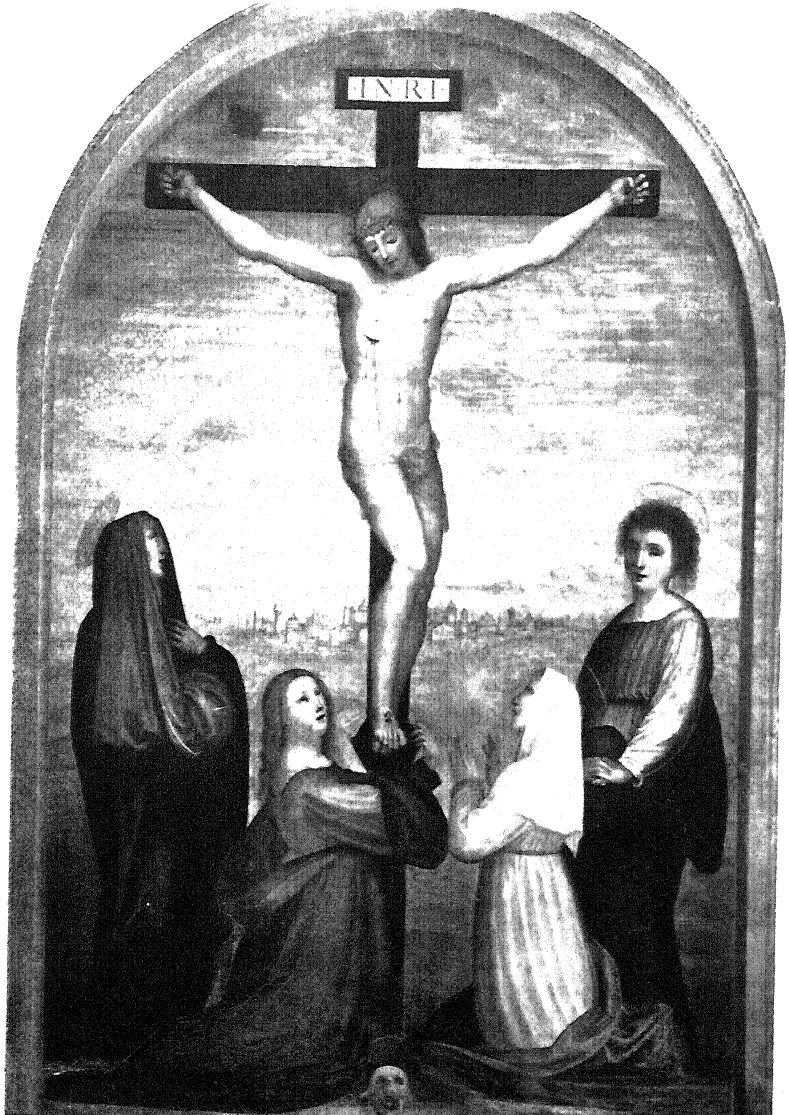
After Fra Bartolommeo's death, Fra Paolino made copious use of the great man's heirlooms, finishing what he had begun, or colouring on his outlines. This is apparent in a Pietà of 1519 at the Academy of Florence;[3] in other subjects of the same collec-

[1] One painter who might claim to be mentioned for a share of some of the pieces named is Sogliani; another is Mariotto. But Sogliani imitated Fra Bartolommeo at a later period, and the stamp of Mariotto is not that apparent in the works before us. (It is well to note that the late Otto Mündler was opposed to the notion that Fra Paolino should have painted the pictures above cited. In an angry criticism in the *Zeitschrift für bild. Kunst.*, ii. 303–304, he takes the authors heavily to task on this point, without producing any arguments convincingly to rebut the opinions given in the text.) [* MORELLI (*u.s.*, p. 154 *sqq.*) also contests the theory that Fra Paolino had any share in the pictures in question, and thinks that they are mainly the work of Albertinelli. To the editor his arguments seem convincing. He points out how feeble, by comparison, are the earliest known authenticated works by Fra Paolino, and dwells upon several points of resemblance between the pictures under discussion, and such as are known to be by Albertinelli.]

[2] The record proving that the Crucifixion of S. Spirito at Siena is by Fra Paolino is in MARCHESE, ii. 210–211.

Frescoes done in 1514 at Pian di Mugnone by Fra Paolino have perished (MARCHESE, ii. 209).

[3] Florence Acad., No. 176. [* This picture, which originally was in the church of S. Maria Maddalena at Pian di Mugnone, is now in the Museo di San Marco (Anticamera del refettorio grande, No. 10).]



Photo, Anderson

THE CRUCIFIXION

BY FRA PAOLINO

From a fresco in S. Spirito, Siena

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tion; in a Madonna with saints of 1525,[1] at S. Lucia; and another of 1530 in S. Agostino, at or near S. Gimignano; and equally so in the later and more ambitious attempts which decorate the altars of churches in Pistoia. Fra Paolino had retired latterly to his native place. He died there of the effects of a sun-stroke, in 1547.[2]

The following register is not to be avoided:

Vienna. Imperial Gallery, No. 38. (Canvas, oil, figures life-size.) Virgin and Child between the kneeling SS. Chiara and Catherine of Alexandria, the standing Mary Magdalen and Dominic, Peter Martyr and Barbara. On the pedestal, beneath the monogram, is the following: "1510. sub tum præsidium confugimus sancta Dei genitrix"; and on a scroll at the Virgin's feet the lines from St. Dominic's legend by Theodoric of Apolda, beginning: "Caritatem habete" (MARCHESE, ii. 208). This is a good imitation of Fra Bartolommeo, but careful and cold in drawing, and ill-balanced in composition, the effect being that of a mixture between the styles of the Frate and Andrea del Sarto, the colour being of a roseate red without massiveness. There is more grandeur in the Child than elsewhere. The Virgin's type is fine, and her face, turned towards St. Barbara, has some softness. The best figure, however, is that of the kneeling St. Catherine, which is quite reminiscent of the two saints (att. to Fra Bartolommeo, *antea*, p. 93) in the Academy of Siena, which for that reason we should place immediately after the Madonna of Vienna.

Siena. S. Spirito. Crucifixion, fresco, under glass (see annexed reproduction), proved by records to be not by Fra Bartolommeo, but by Fra Paolino (MARCHESE, ii. 210–211), assisted by Fra Agostino, of whom no other notice exists. The head of the Saviour is not without refinement; but the frame, of regular proportion, is a lifeless and wooden nude, lame in hands and feet. The outlines and drapery are in Fra Paolino's character; the colour likewise. Hatching is copious and regular as in engravings. St. Catherine, in profile, kneeling, is more like an original of Fra Bartolommeo.

We have spoken of a neat little miniature panel like this fresco in the collection of the late Sir Anthony Stirling (see *antea*, p. 96).

[1] In 1524 a picture was ordered of Fra Paolino for the Servi of Pistoia, but was never executed (MARCHESE, ii. 213, 269). An altarpiece done in 1525 for S. Domenico of Fiesole has disappeared (*ib.*, *ib.*, 214). Other works at Viterbo are likewise missing (*ib.*, *ib.*, 216).

[2] See Fra Paolino's long and uninteresting Life in MARCHESE, ii. 204 and following, and records in appendix, *ib.*, ii. 369 and following.

Florence. Academy of Arts, No. 170. Marriage of St. Catherine of Siena. Composition by Fra Bartolommeo, to whom the altarpiece is given in the catalogue, execution apparently by Fra Paolino (see *antea*, p. 73). Formerly *No.* 71. Assumption and Gift of the Girdle, once in S. Marco, and considered by the authors of the catalogue due to Fra Paolino; is possibly by Michele di Ridolfo.[1]

S. Gimignano (six miles from). S. Lucia a Babbiano. Virgin and Child between the kneeling SS. Catherine of Alexandria and Lucy, the standing SS. Gimignano, Antonio, Jerome, and a friar in a pilaster ornament (wood, oil, figures life-size). On the lower skirting, three rounds, including a saint, the Visitation, and the Angel and Tobit. The date 1525 is on the Virgin's pedestal. The imitation of Fra Bartolommeo is most visible in the Virgin and kneeling females; the manner, generally, being that of the Madonna at Vienna, with less successful handling. The colour as usual.

S. Gimignano. S. Agostino. Virgin and Child on a pedestal, at the foot of which an angel plays a viol. SS. Nicholas, Vincenzo Ferrerio, and two others at the sides (wood, oil, figures life-size). This was delivered, according to Canon PECORI (*S. Gimignano, u.s.*, p. 542), by Fra Paolino in June, 1530, to S. Domenico of Pistoia; MARCHESE says to S. Domenico of S. Gimignano (ii. 214). It is done from a drawing by Fra Bartolommeo, the group of the Virgin and Child being a counterpart of that in the Marriage of St. Catherine (1511) at the Louvre, and in the same episode at the Academy of Arts in Florence. Reddish, with inky-grey shadows and violet half-tones.

Pistoia. S. Paolo. Virgin, Child, and saints with angels, under a conical pavilion (wood, oil, figures life-size). Free adaptation of an arrangement taken from the Frate, but without his symmetry or grandeur; the most important of Fra Paolino's performances, but cold and hard, not equal to the Madonna of Vienna, though superior to those of S. Gimignano. On the step of the throne the words: "Opus F. Pauli de Pist. or. præ. MDXXVIII." The yellow mantle of St. Peter is repainted.

Pistoia. S. Domenico. Adoration of the Magi (wood, oil), much injured by scaling, dark and opaque in shadow. There is much movement and animation in the composition, which curiously recalls Andrea da Salerno, or Andrea del Sarto; and some grace is imparted to the Virgin presenting the Child to the king, who kneels and kisses its foot. Done, according to Tolomei, in 1539 (TOLOMEI, *Guida*, p. 111).

*[1] This picture is now in the Museo di S. Marco at Florence (Anticamera del refettorio grande, No. 2).

Same church. Choir. Marriage of St. Catherine of Siena (wood, oil, life-size); retouched throughout. The group of Virgin and Child is a replica of that in S. Agostino of S. Gimignano. SS. Catherine and Mary Magdalen kneel as in the Marriage (No. 170) at the Academy of Florence. Coarse and unsatisfactory.

Same church. Crucified Saviour between the Virgin and Evangelist, St. Thomas Aquinas at foot; bad and much restored. Wood, oil, life-size.

Pistoia. S. Giovanni Evangelista Fuorcivitas. Sacristy.[1] Nude St. Sebastian in a landscape. Wood, oil. This is a long, lean figure in Fra Paolino's manner. In part scaled.

Rome. Galleria Borghese, No. 310 (named Fra Bartolommeo). Wood, oil, with the monogram and date of 1511. The Child is stretched on the ground, near Him the little Baptist with the cross. The Virgin in rear, kneeling, and St. Joseph to the right. One sees that the foundation is by Fra Bartolommeo, but nothing more.

Rome. Palazzo Sciarra Colonna. Room IV., No. 1. Virgin, Child, and little Baptist (named Fra Bartolommeo), with the monogram. Wood, oil, half the life-size. In the same class as the Nativity of the Galleria Borghese.[2]

Florence. Palace of Prince Corsini, No. 160. Virgin, Child, Baptist, and St. Joseph (named Fra Bartolommeo), with the monogram and year 1511. Superficial (wood, oil, half the life-size), rubbed down and retouched; inferior to, but in the same manner as, that of the Palazzo Sciarra at Rome. The types are like those of Mariotto. The colour reminiscent of Andrea del Sarto's pupil Puligo.

Florence. Palazzo Antinori a S. Gaetano (named Mariotto). Virgin and Child, and Baptist, arched (wood, oil, almost life-size). An angel on the left is by another hand. This also bears the monogram. It is like the foregoing, superficial, and lustrous.

Besides the foregoing, we note as of still less importance: an Assumption at S. Maria del Sasso, near Bibbiano; a Virgin and saints in S. Maria delle Grazie at Pistoia; two panels at Cutigliano; a Virgin between SS. Francis and Benedict in the Academy, a Madonna and saints in S. Giovanni and the same subject in the Palazzo del Comune, at Pistoia; and a Presentation in the Temple, of large size, in the late Bromley collection.[3]

*[1] Now in the church on the left wall.

*[2] This picture is no longer in the Sciarra collection. It is reproduced in KNAPP, *u.s.*, p. 219.

*[3] Sold at the Davenport Bromley sale, June 13, 1863, No. 142.

After the death of Fra Paolino, the well-worn designs of Fra Bartolommeo passed to Suor Plautilla Nelli in S. Caterina of Florence; a lady who was born in 1523, and died in 1587 (VASARI, v. 79 *sq.*, and annot.). We shall only mention one or two of her works, leaving the reader at his pleasure to go deeper into the matter in the pages of Vasari and Father Marchese.

Florence. Academy of Arts. Formerly Salle des grands Tableaux, No. 74.[1] Originally in Santa Caterina of Florence. The Marys and other saints wailing over the dead body of the Saviour (wood, oil, eight life-size figures). The composition is fine, and perhaps an unused one of Fra Bartolommeo, but the execution is a caricature of that of the classic school, the females being the least objectionable. The colour is dull and opaque.

Florence. Palace of Prince Corsini, No. 172. Virgin, Child, in a landscape, and a figure looking over the Virgin's shoulder (named Plautilla Nelli); an exaggeration of the forms of the Frate, of a low reddish and raw tone.

Berlin Museum, No. 250.[2] Martha complains in the presence of Christ, Mary, and Peter. This is falsely assigned to Plautilla Nelli, being dated 1524, a year after her birth. It is a feeble piece, of which the cartoon seems nevertheless by Fra Bartolommeo.

*1 Now in the Museo di San Marco (Anticamera del refettorio grande, No. 3).

*2 Now on loan to the Town Museum at Hildesheim.

CHAPTER IV

MARIOTTO ALBERTINELLI AND BUGIARDINI

THE unimpeachable testimony of records has served to impress with an additional stamp of truth the opinion of Vasari as to the life and character of Mariotto Albertinelli. Born on October 13, 1474,[1] and put by his father Biagio di Bindo to the trade of gold-beating, he soon tired of the monotony peculiar to this occupation and exchanged it for that of a painter. His choice of Cosimo Rosselli as a master threw him into contact with Baccio della Porta, with whom he speedily entered into cordial friendship; and such was the inclination felt by the two apprentices towards each other, that their companionship became inseparable, and Mariotto derived from his style the name of a second Fra Bartolommeo.[2]

We shall not dwell anew on the incidents which preceded the monastic retirement of della Porta, nor is it necessary to do more than bear in mind that when the Last Judgment of S. Maria Nuova was left unfinished, Mariotto remained charged with its completion. What chiefly interests us is to see that during Baccio's novitiate, Mariotto continued the pursuits which had hitherto been carried on in common, and gave signs of a talented and promising manner resembling in principles as well as in technical methods that of his old partner.

What became of the earlier pictures which fell into the hands of Cesare Borgia at Rome, or the likeness of Alfonsina de' Medici, has not been discovered;[3] but there is a small Christ appearing to the Magdalen in the Louvre, in which reminiscences of Cosimo Rosselli's atelier are discovered.[4] It was to be expected

[1] Register of Baptisms at Florence in *Tav. alfab. ad lit. et an.*
[2] VASARI, iv. 217.
[3] *Ib.*, iv. 219 *sq.*
[4] Louvre, No. 1,115, for a long time assigned to Perugino.

that Albertinelli should become acquainted with the mode of drawing in which Fra Bartolommeo's familiarity with the works of Leonardo was betrayed, that he should have the same types and lively action, the same thin shapes and elegant proportion, and that his landscape should be touched with the Frate's careful tenderness. His system of painting necessarily had the same fresh sharpness and minuteness of handling. So natural, indeed, is this, that the presence of all these features in one panel leaves no doubt as to its authorship. And if in that of the Louvre we discover an art less perfect than that of Fra Bartolommeo, it is only because Mariotto had not all the gifts of his associate. Both men had the same education, both were alike in their veneration of the maxims which were known in the shops of Rosselli and Verrocchio as alone true and unassailable.[1]

There was a time when Mariotto might almost have hoped to ascend to the highest honours at Florence—the time when della Porta, having apparently renounced his profession, varied his leisure, perhaps, by encouraging and advising his friend. To this favourable moment we owe the Salutation, reproduced in these pages, and ordered of Mariotto in 1503 for the Congregation of S. Martino at Florence.

*[1] That this is no doubt an early work by Fra Bartolommeo was first pointed out by MORELLI (*Die Galerien Borghese und Doria-Panfili*, p. 157), who quotes, in support of his view, the shape of the hands and the resemblance of the landscape to that in the Vision of St. Bernard in the Florence Academy. The correctness of this attribution is further borne out by the fact that there exist drawings by Fra Bartolommeo for this composition (see BERENSON, *The Drawings of the Florentine Painters*, i. 140), and it should also be noted that the list of paintings by the Frate drawn up by Bartolommeo Cavalcanti in 1516 (MARCHESE, ii. 158 *sqq.*) includes a *Noli me tangere* sold to Domenico Perini, who is also mentioned in this list as the purchaser of a Nativity which was to be sent to France. From other records (published by RIDOLFI, in *Giornale ligustico di archeologia, storia e belle arti*, v. 122) this Perini is known to have made payments on April 30, 1506, for a picture by Fra Bartolommeo, the subject of which is not mentioned, and on April 16, 1507, for the Nativity. The former of these two pictures is perhaps identical with the *Noli me tangere* in the Louvre.

The earliest dated work by Albertinelli which is extant is an Annunciation in the Cathedral of Volterra, bearing the date: "MCCCCIIIC." Other early works by him are the Expulsion from Paradise, in the Strossmayer collection at Agram (see FRIZZONI, in *L'Arte*, vii. 435, with reproduction); an altarpiece with wings, in the gallery at Chartres, showing the Glorification of the Virgin, the Crucifixion, the Assumption, and several saints; and the triptych of 1500 in the Museo Poldi Pezzoli at Milan (*cf. antea*, p. 93).



Photo, Alinari

THE ANNUNCIATION

BY MARIOTTO ALBERTINELLI

From a picture in the Cathedral, Volterra

VI.—*To face page* 106a



Photo, Alinari

THE VISITATION

BY MARIOTTO ALBERTINELLI

From a picture in the Uffizi, Florence

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The scene is laid in a highly decorated portico, looking out upon a fair sky and pleasant country. The Virgin has stopped and bends slightly but courteously forward as Elizabeth steps up and takes her hand, a free expression of joy in her aged face contrasting with the more staid and noble attention in that of the Madonna. Both have the mien and bearing becoming their station. Admirable chastity and composure in the one, a winning honesty in the other. The action and the drapery are equally felicitous. In this application of the Leonardesque rules Mariotto was for this once almost perfect, and but for a little stiffness would be equal to Fra Bartolommeo. Technically he had not allowed any of the advantages of the age to escape him. All the acquirements known to da Vinci after his departure from Milan he turned to use for the attainment of full harmony and rich vapour, producing enamel transparence in a low key of tone with consummate skill by glazes.[1]

To this grand specimen of a picture of style succeeded a round of the Nativity now at the Pitti—a brilliant easel-piece charming for its combination of the qualities of Leonardo and Credi; for noble seriousness in the face of the Virgin and the pleasing plumpness in the shape of the Infant Christ; the landscape, of Ferrarese minuteness in detail, like that of Fra Bartolommeo's Vision of St. Bernard.[2]

Shortly after this, Fra Bartolommeo appointed Mariotto guardian of his brother Piero, and resumed his artistic occupations. Whilst he was occupied with the Nativity and Circumcision of the Uffizi, Albertinelli was busy on a Crucifixion at the Certosa and a Madonna with saints, in S. Trinità of Florence.

The fresco, a simple form of an old theme, with the Magdalen at foot, the Virgin and Evangelist at the sides, and angels gathering the blood from the hands, is very much in Fra Bartolommeo's manner, and tells by comparison what the lower parts of the

[1] Florence, Uffizi, No. 1,259. On the pilasters one reads: "Anno MDIII." The predella—Annunciation, Nativity, and Circumcision—is not less able than the principal incident, though raw from the abrasion of glazes.

[2] Pitti, No. 365. Wood, oil, figures half the life-size. Three angels in the sky sing from a scroll. To the right behind the Virgin, St. Joseph. The shape of ht Madonna is a little less noble and more square than in the Salutation.

Last Judgment at S. Maria Nuova must have been.[1] The Madonna, now at the Louvre, stands on a pedestal, the Infant in her arms giving a blessing to SS. Jerome and Zanobius who kneel in front. Like that of the Frate in the altarpiece of S. Marco, the group of the Virgin and Child is fine and full of feeling. The two saints are well proportioned, and the distance of hills is varied with episodes.[2] We dwell at length upon this period of Albertinelli's life, because he then achieved his greatest successes. As he grew older, taking many pupils, such as Giuliano Bugiardini,[3] Francia Bigio,[4] Innocenzo da Imola,[5] and Pontormo,[6] he wasted more than his leisure in a vain attempt to improve oil mediums.

A Virgin and Child with the Infant Baptist, dated 1509, and greatly injured, in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge, serves less to prove this than to show that Bugiardini was probably then a journeyman in his shop.[7] A better illustration is the Annunciation of 1510, which passed from the Compagnia di S. Zanobi to the Academy of Arts at Florence. In order to suit this subject for its position, he placed the panel on the altar and studied the perspective as well as the play of light and shade on the spot; and as he had some peculiar notions as to the propriety of combining marked relief with fusion, he tried a number of experiments with but little satisfaction to himself.[8] The result,

[1] Inscribed: "Mariotti Florentini opus pro quo patres Deus orandus est. A. D. M. CCCCCVI mens. Sept."

[2] Louvre, No. 1,114. One reads on the base of the pedestal: "Mariocti Debertinellis, Opus Ã. D. M°DVI." The picture was ordered of Zanobi del Maestro, and was taken to Paris before 1813. Adam and Eve near the Tree of Knowledge are on the pedestal as a bas-relief. In the background St. Jerome prays at the foot of the cross, and St. Zanobius revives the Child. The colour is of good impasto, but raw from the removal of glazes. [* This picture was originally ordered from Filippino Lippi, who had just begun it when he died in 1504 (KNAPP, *u.s.*, p. 223).]

[3] VASARI, iv. 228, and vi. 202.

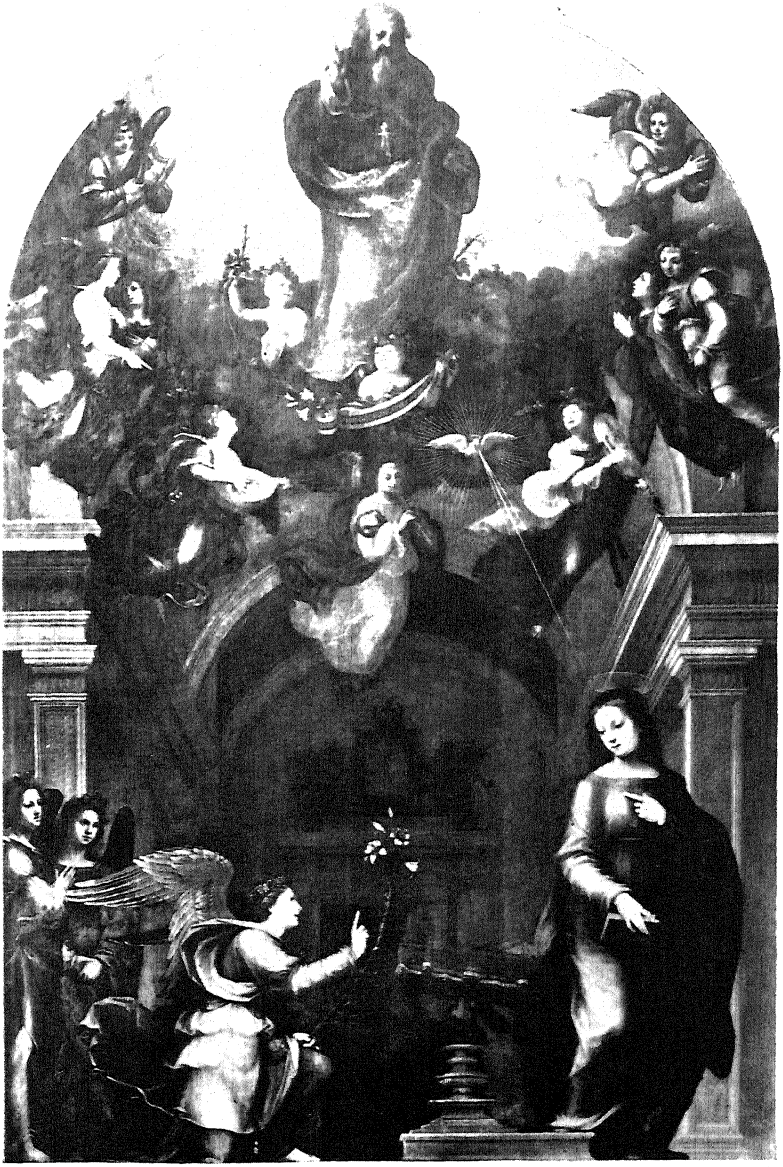
[4] *Ib.*, iv. 228.

[5] *Ib.*, iv. 228, and v. 185.

[6] *Ib.*, vi. 246.

[7] No. 162. Wood, oil. The Virgin, erect with a pomegranate in her right hand, holds the Infant, standing, on a parapet. The latter hangs on to the bosom of His mother's dress, whilst the young Baptist looks on and carries the reed cross. A bird pecks food, and a vase of flowers is placed on the wall. In front one reads: "Mariotti Florentini opus 1509." Through a window, a landscape, the whole covered over with modern repainting.

[8] VASARI, iv. 223 *sq.*



Photo, Alinari

THE ANNUNCIATION

BY MARIOTTO ALBERTINELLI

From a picture in the Academy of Arts, Florence

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as we now see it, was an excessive lucidity of colour, obtained by a copious use of strong varnish in the oils, and a substance at once viscous, flowing, and difficult to model. Time dealt severely with this example, and what it has spared has suffered from restoring; but besides, Mariotto gave evidence of an extravagant fancy in the confused arrangement and strange dresses of the angels surrounding the apparition of the Eternal, thus casting into the shade the finer points made in the fair types of the Virgin and angel. The subsequent removal to a gallery where the effect of a low centre of vision is negatived by hanging "below the line" combines with other disadvantages to give Mariotto's work an unfavourable aspect.[1] The circumstances under which he brought it, after incredible labour, to completion, were such that a valuation by competent persons became necessary, and Pietro Perugino, Ridolfo Ghirlandaio, and Francesco Granacci, had to give their opinion before the price was finally settled.[2]

In a more quiet and less fanciful mood, Albertinelli had occasion to furnish to S. Giuliano a Trinity[3] on gold ground, and an enthroned Madonna adored by two kneeling saints, which from thence have been transferred to the Academy of Florence.[4]

In the midst of these occupations the friendship of Fra Bartolommeo, whose fame was increasing daily, had not been

[1] Florence, Academy of Arts, No. 169. The glory has become quite black, and disharmony is increased by the flaying and repainting of the lower parts.

[2] VASARI, iv. 224.

[3] Florence Academy, No. 63. Wood, oil. The gold ground renewed to the detriment of some outlines. The face of the Eternal is fine, and well preserved; in type like one of Fra Bartolommeo's in S. Romano at Lucca. Two angels at his feet are pleasing and reminiscent, as regards action and form, of the Raphaelesque. The arrangement is on the Frate's principles; the drapery broad; but the colour is of the same kind as in the Annunciation (VASARI, iv. 222).

In the Berlin Museum, No. 229, a round of the Trinity under Mariotto's name is very like the above in respect of arrangement, though more like a work of Granacci in touch and mode of colouring. [* It is now officially ascribed to the latter.]

[4] Florence, Academy of Arts, No. 167. Mentioned by VASARI (iv. 222). Wood, oil, figures life-size. The Virgin is enthroned with the Infant between SS. John the Baptist, Julian, Dominic, and Nicholas. A bold handling here reminds us of the Madonna at the Louvre of 1506, with something akin to Ridolfo Ghirlandaio. The figures are firm and well proportioned, the chiaroscuro well defined, the colour a little bold.

neglected. We have seen how vainly Mariotto tried to mediate in the summer of 1507 between him and Bernardo del Bianco. After the return of the Frate from Venice, the want of a skilled superintendent in the atelier of S. Marco became evident, and the old partnership, which had been broken up in 1500, was renewed in 1510. Very few of the pictures undertaken while it lasted enable us to distinguish the hand of either artist.[1] We barely have a trace of Albertinelli in the glory of the Murano altarpiece at S. Romano of Lucca. His presence is more decidedly apparent in the lower part of the Assumption at Berlin, and is slightly betrayed in the round of the Nativity at Saltocchio near Lucca.

At the division of profits which took place in January, 1513, a panel which fell to Mariotto's share was one of Adam and Eve, contoured and rubbed in by Fra Bartolommeo.[2] After Albertinelli had digested the chagrin caused by the separation from his friend, and repented of having turned publican, we think that he took in hand this little piece, which is now at Castle Howard.[3] On the left sits Adam in profile, obviously bent on dissuading Eve, who stands against a tree about to pluck the fruit. She is tempted by the whispering demon whose body is twined about the trunk. In the landscape the Creation and Expulsion are introduced as subordinate episodes. This is an exquisite thing, correct in the anatomy, proportions, and action of Adam, astonishingly appropriate in the hesitating movement of Eve. In spite of minute treatment, the touch is firm, and the tone rich, sweet, and airy.

Nor is this a solitary specimen of Mariotto's power. Its counterpart is a beautiful Sacrifice of Abraham, preserved likewise in the collection of Castle Howard;[4] and a similar character

*[1] *Cf. antea, passim.*

[2] Memorandum of Mariotto (January 5, 1513, *n.s.*) in MARCHESE, ii. 366.

*[3] It is difficult to accept this hypothesis after the discovery of what in all probability is the Adam and Eve begun by Fra Bartolommeo—the still unfinished little picture in the Johnson collection at Philadelphia (see *antea*, p. 77, n. 1).

[4] Both these little pieces have been successively called by the names of Raphael, F. Francia, and Lorenzo Costa; and are the finest specimens of Albertinelli when he strove to rival Fra Bartolommeo. In the Sacrifice, Abraham holds his knife to Isaac's throat, as the angel stops him and points to the lamb in a distant bush. The angel's wings are touched in gold.

is marked in three fragments of a Coronation of the Virgin at the Museum of Stuttgart.[1]

We cannot suppose that Mariotto long remained absent from his easel. For some months only did he keep a tavern at the Ponte Vecchio al Drago near the gate of S. Gallo, and congratulate himself on having entered on a trade "where he should be free from the taunts of criticism, and hear no more of muscles, of foreshortening, or perspective."[2] The means which had enabled him to take this strange step were, no doubt, soon exhausted; and in March, 1513, he was glad to accept a commission for a shield of arms in the palace of the Medici on the occasion of Leo X.'s elevation to the Papacy.[3]

The Annunciation at Munich, though undated, is but a continuation of the manner illustrative of this period in Albertinelli's career, combining the elegance and pious spirit of Fra Bartolommeo with a sentiment and method of colouring like that of Andrea del Sarto.[4] It shows that Mariotto, in this instance at least, could succeed in uniting strong contrasts of light and shade to atmosphere and fusion of colour, and preserve at the same time true proportions and flexibility in nude.[5]

At the very last, and when one might think that Albertinelli must have surrendered all hope of receiving useful inspirations from the study of great contemporary masterpieces, he was induced to proceed to Rome, whither, according to Vasari, he

[1] Stuttgart, Museum, No. 427. A boy-angel and part of a second with flowers, with a piece of the dress of the Virgin, the rest of whose form and a piece of the Redeemer is in the second fragment, whilst the third bit shows an angle of Christ's dress, and another boy-angel. These were perhaps done during the partnership with the Frate. These fragments at Stuttgart are under the name of Fra Bartolommeo, but the drawing and execution are Mariotto's, the flesh lights being red, the shadows of a greyish-blue, and the vehicle viscous. [* As already noted (*antea*, p. 97, n. 2), these are fragments of the upper part of the altarpiece painted by Fra Bartolommeo and Mariotto Albertinelli in 1511–12 for Jean Carondelet.]

[2] VASARI, iv. 222.

[3] *Ib.*, *ib.*, *ib.*

[4] *E.g.*, in the Annunciation at the Pitti, No. 124.

[5] Munich. Pinakothek, No. 1,057. At the sides of the principal group stand a fine naked St. Sebastian, with an angel consoling him by presenting the palm of martyrdom, and St. Ottilia with a dagger in her throat (wood, oil, figures almost large as life). The picture has been unevenly cleaned, the distance and foreground (the latter especially) being much abraded. The flesh shadows are slightly rubbed away, and hence a little cool and grey. Purchased at Florence in 1832.

journeyed by way of Viterbo, after having finished there a picture begun by Fra Bartolommeo in S. Maria della Quercia. He had scarcely given the final touch to a Marriage of St. Catherine for Fra Mariano at S. Salvestro, when he was seized with an illness which so prostrated him that he was brought back on a litter to Florence, where he died on November 5, 1515.[1]

Some doubtful classifications in public and private collections make the following list desirable:

Florence. Uffizi (now withdrawn). The Dead Christ, on the ground, at the foot of the cross, surrounded by the Evangelist, the Marys and other females. Unimportant, but suggesting memories of Raphael's studies for the same subject. Not certainly by Mariotto.

Florence. Palace of Prince Corsini, No. 164. Wood. Painted from a cartoon assigned to Raphael, in the Academy of Arts at Florence, by an artist subsequent to Ridolfo Ghirlandaio.

St. Petersburg. Hermitage, No. 21. Named M. Albertinelli.[2] Marriage of St. Catherine in the presence of SS. John Evangelist, Nicholas, Stephen, Francis, Jerome, John Baptist, and two others. Wood, oil, figures large as life; formerly in the Braschi Palace at Rome. In its present condition, being much restored, this is a mixture of Sogliani and Bazzi, the style of the latter especially clear in the Virgin and four principal saints at her sides, and in the sky with its dark cloud; the rest more Florentine, the St. Catherine particularly coarse and heavy. Age and retouching have changed the colour, hence lack of harmony and transparence.

St. Petersburg. Leuchtenberg Gallery, No. 43. Named Gaudenzio Ferrari. Wood, oil, figures almost life-size. Virgin and Child between St. Joseph and the sleeping infant Baptist, in a landscape, with angels playing instruments in the air to the left. Here the stamp of Mariotto is more marked than in the foregoing, but the surface has also been deeply damaged by retouching. The painter seems to be Sogliani or some other imitator of the same sort.

St. Petersburg. Prince Gortschakoff. Round of the Virgin, Child, infant Baptist, and two female saints. Wood, oil. The composition after the fashion of the Frate, the forms and faces reminiscent of

[1] VASARI, iv. 225. His death on that day and his burial in S. Piero Maggiore are proved by the register of deaths *ad ann.* (see *Tav. alfab., u.s.*). Of his works at Rome and Viterbo not a trace remains.

*[2] Now catalogued as the work of an unknown Florentine painter of the fifteenth century.

Raphael; the young St. John heavy and grotesque. The want of feeling and other features here betray Andrea del Sarto's pupil Puligo.

London. National Gallery, No. 645. Virgin and Child, once in possession of M. Beaucousin in Paris; like a Mariotto, but possibly by Sogliani when imitating Fra Bartolommeo.

Paris. Ex-Pourtalès Gallery. Wood, oil. Virgin, Child, the boy St. John, and St. Joseph in distance. Named Albertinelli. This is a rudely executed adaptation of Mariotto and Fra Bartolommeo by Sogliani.[1]

ALBERTINI (*Memoriale, u.s.*, p. 14) speaks of pictures by Mariotto in San Pancrazio of Florence. There are no traces of his work there now. The building is now the Regio Lotto.

In the number of Mariotto's pupils Vasari names Visino, whom elsewhere he has called a disciple of Francia Bigio.[2] Amongst his performances the historian mentions one "of Christ taken from the Cross together with the thieves, in which there is an ingenious and intricate arrangement of ladders."[3] This description points to a panel now in the Galleria del Seminario at Venice,[4] not unlike the joint Descent from the Cross by Filippino and Perugino, but carried out with a view to emulate Andrea del Sarto and Michael Angelo. Visino thus proves how an inferior talent assumes the garb of better ones, with a strange diversity at various periods.

A Virgin and Child, classed not improperly as Pontormo, in the Academy of Arts of Bologna, but attributed by many to Visino or Bugiardini, is another example of the mixture above noted. There is something of the Michaelangelesque, a little of Fra Bartolommeo, more of del Sarto, particularly in tone.

*[1] In addition to the extant pictures by Mariotto Albertinelli hitherto mentioned, the following are to be noticed:

Bergamo. Accademia Carrara, No. 325. The Crucified Christ and three monks. *No.* 534 (Morelli collection). St. John and the Magdalen.

Gloucester (near). Highnam Court. Sir Hubert Parry. The Days of Creation and the Temptation (reproduced in the Arundel Club Portfolio for 1909, No. 2). The Nativity (Arundel Club Portfolio, 1910, No. 6).

London. Mr. R. H. Benson. St. Jerome.

New York. Mr. Samuel Untermeyer. A Female Saint (see PERKINS, in *Rassegna d'arte*, ix. 147, with reproduction).

[2] VASARI, iv. 228 *sq.*

[3] *Ib., ib., ib.*

[4] Fourteen figures under the head: "School of Perugino."

The authorship may therefore be the same as at Venice. But Visino is not alone in suggesting reflections on the productions of Mariotto's shop. Bugiardini, Innocenzo da Imola, and Francia Bigio, having been there, may all more or less have taken a part in the pictures that issued from it. Malvasia is inclined to doubt Vasari's assertion as to the connection between Albertinelli and Innocenzo, and perhaps his Florentine bias may be due to other causes. But setting him aside and considering such pieces as raise doubts whether they are by Albertinelli or his journeymen, we may form a class apart, in which traits of Albertinelli and his disciples are commingled so that the result is unlike Mariotto absolutely, and also unlike what the several subordinates were when they assumed their independence. One of these is a Virgin and Child in the collection of the Duca Corsini at Florence, a round to which graceful grouping and beautiful landscape, on the model of Mariotto and the Frate, give a certain interest, but in which paltry nude, pinched features, and affected melancholy are to be observed. These we are taught to consider as peculiarities in the first manner of Giuliano Bugiardini, leading us to the belief that the Madonna of the Duca Corsini may be his when under the influence of Albertinelli.[1] At Turin, too, is another specimen of the same kind, a round of the Madonna with a standing Child, the young Baptist, and St. Joseph leading the ass.[2] The Virgin's face varies little from Mariotto's type, whilst the aged head and short stature of the Christ, and the vulgar heaviness of the little St. John disclose the derivation of Bugiardini from a school where he was enabled to assume something of the air of the great masters without much original talent. Both at Turin and Florence, the colour is cold and a little raw.

Giuliano di Piero di Simone Bugiardini, whose earliest period

[1] The Virgin sits on a bank in a landscape in which the Nativity and Visitation are distant episodes. The figures are one-third the size of life (wood, oil). The forms of the Virgin recall those of a Madonna (No. 213 at the Uffizi) under Bugiardini's name, long under that of da Vinci, in which we find the technical handling of a scholar of Mariotto conjoined with the type of Leonardo; in which also the shape of the Infant Christ is heavy and puffy. But see the text *postea*.

[2] Turin Gallery, No. 114. Round, wood, oil, figures one-quarter of life-size; called Mariotto (?). [* Now catalogued as a work by Bugiardini.]



Photo, Alinari

PORTRAIT OF A LADY ("LA MONACA")

BY GIULIANO BUGIARDINI

From a picture in the Palazzo Pitti, Florence

VI.—*To face page* 114

*

of artistic development has thus been traced, was younger than Mariotto, and was born in 1475 in the suburbs of Florence.[1]

The diligence which he exhibited in the garden of the Medici endeared him to Michael Angelo, whom he followed into the shop of Domenico Ghirlandaio.[2] He afterwards performed the duties of assistant to Mariotto at Florence and Gualfonda, and was one of those whom Buonarroti uselessly employed in Rome when he first undertook the ceiling of the Sixtine chapel.[3] During a long service in irresponsible capacities, he was admitted to have been known for assiduity and precision in transferring the drawings of others to panel. We find him in 1520 associated with Ridolfo Ghirlandaio in valuing a picture at San Frediano of Florence by Jacopo del Sellaio.[4] When he advanced late in life to an independent position, his ability in undertaking original subjects was necessarily slight, and he confined himself to the handling of the simplest incidents.

The Virgin and Child, alone or accompanied by the little Baptist, sometimes attended by saints, was his usual theme; illustrations of which we find in the Madonna at the Uffizi known for years as by Leonardo; in a Virgin, Child, and Baptist at the Museum of Leipzig, a Nativity at Berlin, and a Marriage of St. Catherine at the Pinacoteca of Bologna.

Bugiardini did not fail occasionally to discern the graceful and appropriate in his contemporaries. His grouping in the Madonna of the Uffizi is not without merit. The Virgin's face, with its broken outlines and wasted, angular features, is cast in the mould of Leonardo's nun at the Pitti,[5] though tinged with a sickly melancholy. Her action is not without sentiment, her head being pensively bent, and her hand pointing at the breast which the Child has just abandoned. There is even a Raphael-

[1] See the income return of his father, Piero di Simone, in *Tav. alfab., u.s.*, and a contract (*antea*) of Jacopo del Sellaio where Bugiardini's name appears.

[2] VASARI, vi. 201 *sq.* [3] VASARI, vii. 175. *Circa* 1508.

[4] VASARI, vi. 203. [* Mr. BERENSON (*Florentine Painters*, p. 125 *sq.*) considers that the Virgin and Child with the infant St. John and angels in the National Gallery (No. 809) and the Virgin and Child with the infant St. John in the Academy of Arts at Vienna (No. 1,134) have been executed by Bugiardini in accordance with suggestions of Michael Angelo.]

*[5] This picture (Pitti, No. 140), which is certainly too weak for Leonardo, should, as a matter of fact, be considered as a Leonardesque production by Bugiardini.

esque movement in the Boy, heavy and round though his shape may be. The drapery gives a good account of the frame and limbs beneath, as it does in Mariotto and the Frate, but is rendered more after Michael Angelo's fashion. The colour is full of light, of good impasto, and fused like that of Albertinelli. We mark in fact, the effect which a constant observation of the best models produces on Bugiardini.[1] In the Leipzig Madonna, greatly as it has been injured, the same dependence is manifested; and in a pleasant landscape Giuliano seeks to tint the hill-sides with natural variety according to their distance, and to give depth on the principles of da Vinci. But his types are more vulgar and fleshy, his drawing more incorrect,his drapery more festooned, than at the Uffizi.[2] The Berlin Nativity, of better preservation, is composed and painted more particularly in the method of Mariotto and the Frate, in a strong, low key of harmonious tone, the figures still faulty and short.[3] A more effective distribution, better forms and truer proportions in the "Marriage of St. Catherine" at Bologna, are insufficient to compensate for the bricky tinge and rawness of a picture marked by something like the manner in which Innocenzo da Imola afterwards betrays his contact with the Florentines.[4]

Another phase in Bugiardini's character is to be noticed in genuine works in which the personages, instead of being short or

[1] Uffizi, No. 213. Wood, oil, figures all but life-size. The type of the Child is like that in the Turin Madonna (*antea*). The colour shadowed in grey, fused like that in Mariotto's Virgin and saints (1506) at the Louvre. The prevailing tone is rosy, but some sharpness has been created by old cleaning and the consequent flaying of glazes.

[2] Leipzig, Museum, No. 21. Formerly catalogued Giulio Romano, the inscription having been altered from "Jul. Flor. f." to "Jul. Ro. f." The Virgin holds the Infant in her arms, the Baptist in front pointing to Him, and holding the reed cross; the drawing heavy, puffy, and incorrect. The nimbuses have been removed; and many parts—*e.g.*, the shadow on the Virgin's cheek and neck, the Child's hand, and the foot of the Baptist—are repainted.

[3] No. 283. The Infant sits on the ground, adored by the kneeling Virgin; right, SS. John Evangelist and Philip; left, SS. Jerome and Joseph. In the air is an angel; distance, landscape. Inscribed: "Jul. Flo. fac." Wood, oil, figures life-size; well preserved.

[4] Bologna Pinacoteca, No. 26. The Virgin has the Child on her knee, who gives the ring to St. Catherine; St. Anthony with one leg on the step of the throne at the left side; the little Baptist at the Virgin's feet. Wood, oil, all but life-size. Inscribed: "Jul. Flo. fac."

puffy are, on the contrary, thin and small. The tendency in these is to remind us of Leonardo and Raphael, and, in certain motions, of Michael Angelo, the resulting cento being highly finished and far from unpleasant, though without the stamp of independence and originality. In the gallery of Signor Battista Mansi at Lucca, a Holy Family, inscribed with Giuliano's name and the date of 1520,[1] shows us the Saviour plucking dates from a palm and giving them to the Virgin, by whose side the Infant Baptist kneels. The landscape is the old one of the Frate, but the composition is a mixture of the Leonardesque and Raphael's Madonna del Cardellino, the faces displaying an effort to attain the gentleness of Sanzio.[2] A variation of this, at the Padri Filippini of Bologna, is equally pretty and soft in colour; smaller and more carefully handled.[3]

Michaelangelesque attitude is observable in the strained grace of the principal figure in a round at the Zambeccari Gallery in Bologna, where the Virgin sits on a bank with a book in her hand near a grove of trees, and turns at the call of the Infant Christ, who has caught sight of the young Baptist coming.[4] The style is otherwise similar to that of the Virgin at Lucca. It may be recognized in a round at the Hermitage of St. Petersburg falsely assigned to Pacchia.[5]

The number of Bugiardini's panels in Bologna might lead to the inference that during the troubles of the years previous to

[1] This picture was probably done in Florence, as a record of September, 1520, exists, in which we have seen Bugiardini joined Ridolfo Ghirlandaio in valuing an altarpiece by Jacopo del Sellaio.

[2] Wood, oil, figures life-size. Of a ruddy tone, the young Baptist with his wooden cup injured by restoring. Inscribed: "Julianus Florentinus faciebat. 1520." In the distance St. Joseph and the ass. [* This picture is now in the Uffizi (No. 3,451).]

[3] Wood, oil, 4 feet 6 inches by 3 feet. Wood, oil, without the St. Joseph.

[4] Wood, oil, figures third life-size. Very careful; the lights in the Infant Christ's hair gilt. [* Now in the Bologna Gallery (No. 745).]

[5] St. Petersburg, Hermitage, No. 35. Wood, oil, transferred to canvas. The Virgin on the ground with the Infant on her knee, to whom she shows a book; the Baptist asleep on the right. St. Joseph coming up with a bundle of sticks and a barrel on the right; distance a landscape. The forms are small and thin, hardly outlined, and with precision, enamelled, and a little raw in colour. Not by Pacchia, to whom it is ascribed, but by Bugiardini. [* In the current catalogue this picture is restored to Bugiardini.]

1530 he remained at a safe distance from Florence.[1] His stay at the latter place in 1526 is known to a certainty by the record of payments for decorating the balustrade of the rostrum in the palace of the Signori.[2] After the peace he was constantly Michael Angelo's companion at Florence, and was wont to divert his melancholy by harmless vanity and amusing self-sufficiency. He had the conceit of a Florentine Boswell, following Buonarroti like a shadow, and sunning himself in the borrowed light.[3] When the statues of the Medici tombs at S. Lorenzo were finished in 1531, Bugiardini copied the "Night" on the wing of a triptych with the accompaniment of a lantern in the form used for trapping birds—an idea as ludicrous, says Vasari, as if he had copied a nightcap, a pillow, or a bat.[4] With some difficulty he once obtained a sitting from Michael Angelo for his likeness, and having kept him two hours, produced a portrait in which one eye seemed awkwardly transposed into one of the temples. Nothing would induce him to correct the error, for, if error there be, he said, it is in the original.[5] The portrait is supposed

*[1] As early as 1512 Bugiardini seems to have been active for a Bolognese patron. The proof of this is a representation of the Birth of St. John the Baptist, in the gallery of the University at Stockholm (No. 216), which, besides the signature "Jul. Bugiardini Flore. F.," bears the inscription: "D. Vicentius Sachrista S. Petroni F. F. MDXII." It may be taken that the church mentioned in this inscription is S. Petronio of Bologna. See SIRÉN, in *Konst*, Nos. 11–12, Stockholm, 1913.

[2] *Archiv. di Stato di Firenze. Stanziamenti de' Signori e collegi* fr. 1521 to 1527: 233 tergo.

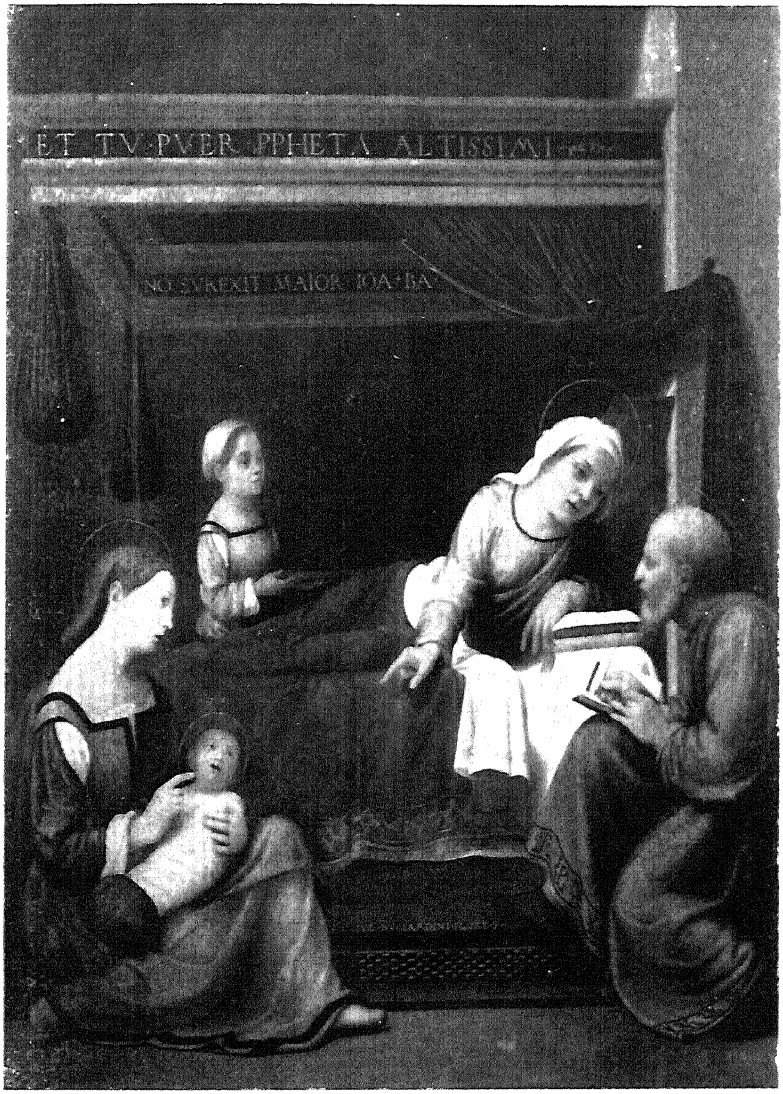
Die 5. Octobris 1526.

"Item stanziarono che detti massai, — dieno e paghino al d° Camarlingo della Camera dell'Arme fior. 20 larghi d'oro in oro netti;— sono per dargli e pargare a Giuliano Bugiardini dipintore per parte del prezzo del cartone che lui fa del disegno della spalliere della ringhiera del Palazzo, de' nostri Signori, le quali si anno a fare di nuovo — per essere quelle che di presente si adoprano, consumate, guaste e disonorevole." Favoured by Gaetano Milanesi.

[3] He was a member of the club of the Cazzuola, of which more in the Life of Andrea del Sarto (VASARI, vi. 612).

[4] VASARI, vi. 208 *sq.*

[5] *Ib.*, *ib.*, 206. Michael Angelo succeeded in getting for Bugiardini Sebastian del Piombo's portrait of Clement VII., from which he (Giuliano) made a picture of that Pope in company of Baccio Valori (see GAYE, ii. 228; and VASARI, v. 581 *sq.*), and another of the Pope with Fra Niccolò Schomberg, Archbishop of Capua (VASARI, *ib.*, *ib.*). Bugiardini also copied Raphael's Leo X., substituting Cardinal Cibo for Cardinal de' Rossi (*ib.*, *ib.*, vi. 206); and he took the likeness of the his-

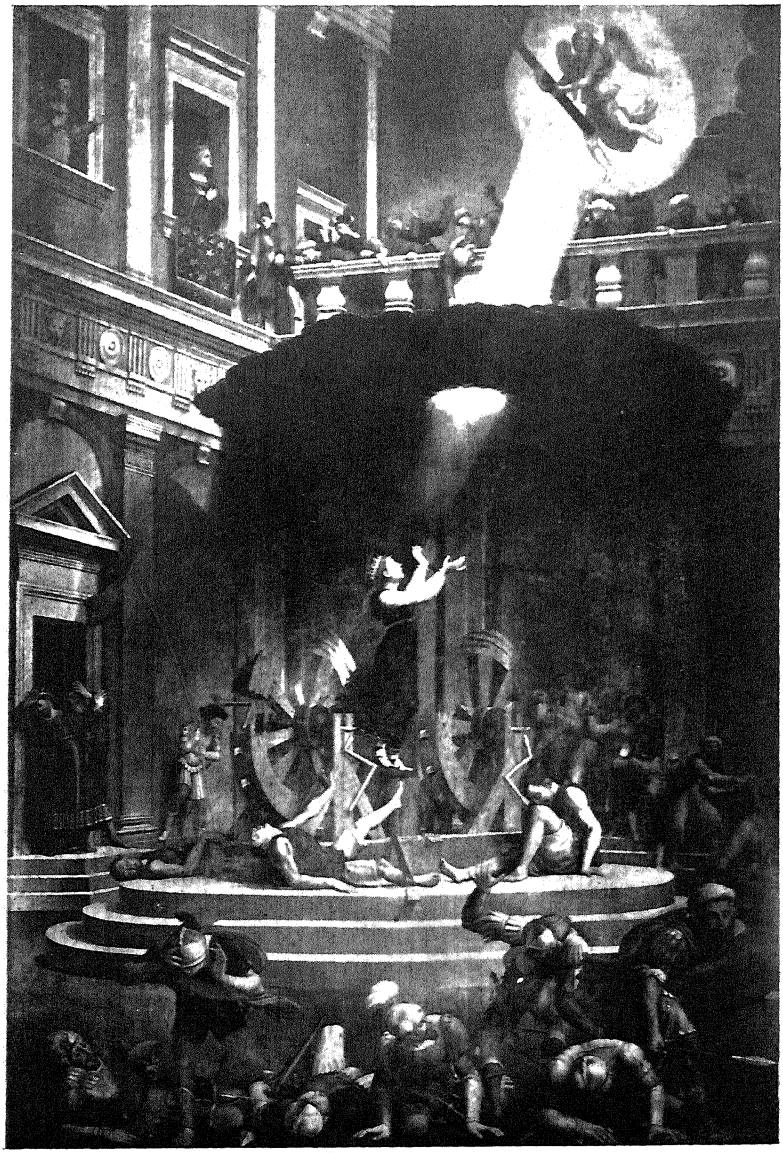


THE BIRTH OF ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST

BY GIULIANO BUGIARDINI

From a picture in the University Gallery, Stockholm

VI.—*To face page* 118*a*



Photo, Alinari

THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. CATHERINE

BY GIULIANO BUGIARDINI

From a picture in S. Maria Novella, Florence

VI.—*To face page* 118*b*

to be that of the Louvre, which certainly has something of Bugiardini, though feeble even for him, and of a hard, dull reddish tone.[1]

A letter of Giovan Battista di Paolo Mini, dated September 29, 1531, addressed to Baccio Valori, tells of a visit from Michael Angelo to Mini together with Bugiardini; and a second, interchanged between the same persons in the following October, mentions the Rape of Dinah, which Giuliano was then finishing from a design by Fra Bartolommeo.[2] The picture is now in the Imperial Gallery at Vienna, and done clearly from the Frate's sketch, but without style or harmony of colour,[3] and far less successful than the Martyrdom of St. Catherine taken about the same time from a composition of Michael Angelo's for the Cappella Rucellai at S. Maria Novella of Florence. It is a pity, indeed, that so grand a distribution, one so complete in the relation of the groups to the architecture, should be marred by the want of power exhibited by Giuliano.[4]

Few of Bugiardini's panels or canvases in addition to those we have mentioned remain to be noticed. We mark one in the

torian Guicciardini (*circa* 1534 ?) (VASARI, vi. 205]. These are all missing [* excepting the portrait of Leo X.; *cf. postea*, p. 120, n. 7], as well as the frescoes at Baccio Valori's country-house, and other things too numerous to mention (VASARI, vi. 202–207). We have seen that he restored the four battle-pieces of Uccello at Gualfonda (see *antea*].

[1] Louvre, No. 1,649. A white handkerchief is on the head, inscribed: "Micha. Ange. Bonarottanus. Florentinus sculptor. optimus anno Ætatis Suæ 47" (ergo done 1522). The style is that of a man anxious to work in M. Angelo's way, hard in drawing, dull red in light; inky in shade, surface smooth as in Bronzino and Pontormo.

[2] This correspondnce is in GAYE, *Carteggio*, ii. 228 and following.

[3] Vienna, Imperial Gallery, No. 36. Twenty-eight figures, wood, oil, of glassy colour, very feeble, and with little of Fra Bartolommeo left.

[4] The panel is on the wall to the left of the entrance, the figures large as life. VASARI (vi. 207) assigns the drawing of the foreground figures to Michael Angelo. The whole composition seems his. [* The drawing by Michael Angelo for this composition is in the Print Room at the Palazzo Corsini in Rome.] The saint remains magically in air between the wheels in the midst of the court, where the crowd of people and soldiers lie prostrate. Above a screen balcony the angel appears; and on the balcony and at the windows of the palace looking on to the court are frightened spectators. This is the most important of Bugiardini's works. The figures are slender and full of movement. The surface of colour smooth as marble, and now of sombre tone.

Casa Susanni at Mantua,[1] others in the Colonna Palace at Rome,[2] in the sacristy at S. Croce of Florence,[3] in the Pinacoteca at Bologna,[4] the Baring collection in London,[5] and the Berlin Museum.[6]

Bugiardini died at a good old age on February 17, 1554.[7]

[1] Virgin, Child, youthful Baptist, and an angel; wood; called Francia. Composition like a youthful one of Raphael; the character of the work Bugiardini's. [* Mr. BRECK (in *Rassegna d' arte*, xi. 115) suggests that a picture in the collection of Mr. Theodore Davis of Newport may be identical with this one.]

[2] Virgin, seen to the knees, with the Child on a wall, signed: "Juliani Florentini"; wood, third life-size; much damaged by restoring.

[3] Nativity, the Virgin with St. Joseph and two shepherds adoring the Child, four saints (Anthony the Abbot and Bartholomew, Nicholas of Bari and John the Baptist) separated from the body of the picture. Formerly in the Cappella Castellani. The character of the figures here is long, dry and lean, the drawing somewhat in the style of David and Benedetto Ghirlandaio. Were Bugiardini proved to be the author, we should take this as an example of his style as he issued from the school of Domenico. [* These pictures are now in the Museo dell' Opera in S. Croce. The panels containing the figures of the Baptist and St. Nicholas are very much cut down.]

[4] Bologna, Pinacoteca, No. 25. St. John in the desert drinking out of a wooden bowl, a dry and mechanically made-out nude, of raw, bricky, and opaque tone, inscribed on the stone seat: "Jul. Flor. f." On canvas; all but life-size.

[5] Canvas, small. Same figures as No. 25 in the Pinacoteca of Bologna. [* Now in the collection of the Earl of Northbrook. Yet another picture of this subject by Bugiardini is in S. Maria delle Grazie at Milan (above the first altar to the right; signed: "Jul. Bugiar. flo. faci.").]

[6] Berlin, Museum, No. 284. Death of Lucretia. Disagreeable figure of unpleasant type, of sombre greenish colour, of glassy surface. [* This picture is a free copy after a picture by Bramantino in the collection of the Conte Sola Busca of Milan. See SUIDA, in the Vienna *Jahrbuch*, xxvi. 304 *sqq.*; and CROWE and CAVALCASELLE, *History of Painting in North Italy*, ed. BORENIUS, ii. 348, n. 1.]

Berlin, Museum, No. 285. Holy Family, very feeble, but still possibly by Bugiardini. [* Now on loan to the Provinzialmuseum at Bonn.]

[7] *Tav. alfab.* He was buried in S. Maria Novella. [* We add the following list of extant pictures by Bugiardini that have not yet been mentioned:

Florence. Museo di San Marco, No. 6. The Virgin and Child with SS. Francis and Mary Magdalen.

London. Mr. W. Seymour Eastwood. The Virgin and Child.

Rome. Galleria Borghese, No. 177. The Marriage of St. Catherine. *Palazzo Corsini, No.* 584. Copy, with variations, of Raphael's portrait of Leo X. (mentioned by Vasari; *cf. antea*, p. 118, n. 5).

Turin. Accademia Albertina. The Virgin and Child with the Infant St. John.]

*

CHAPTER V

FRANCIA BIGIO AND SOGLIANI

FRANCESCO DI CRISTOFANO, commonly called Francia Bigio, was a more finished artist, and did more honour to the teaching of Mariotto Albertinelli than Bugiardini. He was born in 1482,[1] and studied at the Brancacci. But when Michael Angelo exhibited his cartoon of the "War of Pisa" in the Sala del Papa at Florence in 1506, Francia Bigio swelled the current of the crowd which flocked there with easel and portfolio. The acquaintance of Andrea del Sarto which he then made subsequently ripened into friendship; though circumstances kept the youths for a time in the workshops of different masters. The first frequented the atelier of Piero di Cosimo, the second visited that of Albertinelli, and the result was the infusion of different elements into their respective styles.[2]

Francia Bigio is generally known by a manner resembling that of his friend; but an extant panel amongst those assigned to his early period would prove that his original tendency was to imitate Albertinelli, so as in some respects to resemble Giuliano Bugiardini. Of two subjects which were once preserved in S. Piero Maggiore at Florence, one is the Annunication now in the Museum of Turin,[3] in which Vasari admires the ready flight of the angel, the graceful attitude of the Virgin as she kneels to receive the salutation, and the ingenious perspective of a block of houses. He neglects to add that in the sky to the left the Eternal gives his blessing from a cloud in which pretty cherubs

[1] VASARI (v. 198) says Francia Bigio died aged 42. The death is in the register of Florence *sub anno* 1525 (January 14) (*Tav. alfab., u.s.*).

[2] Vasari says that Francia Bigio only learnt for some months from Mariotto. The effect, at all events, was powerful and lasting.

[3] Turin, Museum, No. 112. Figures half the size of life.

fly, and sends down the dove with a ray from his glory. In considering the question of authorship, we note that the ruddy flesh-tints with their cool shadows are in some measure like those of Pontormo. But the broad mask of the faces in the Virgin and angel, the bony shape and small pinched features, the trite and straightly lined drapery, seem a modification of Bugiardini's by a man of superior attainments. The sombreness of the colour is apparently derived from Leonardo through Mariotto, and the buildings, so justly praised for their perspective, are not dissimilar from those of del Sarto.[1] Everything thus points to Francia Bigio.

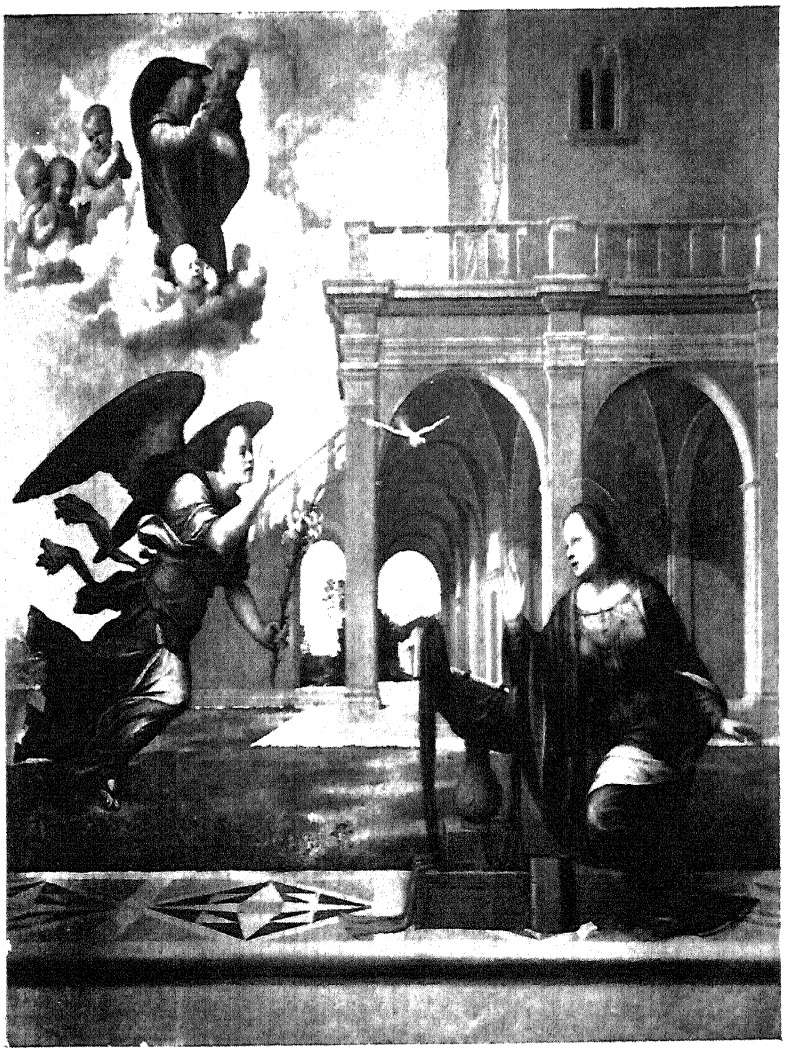
Another contribution to the embellishment of the altars in S. Piero Maggiore was, according to the historian, the Virgin with the Saviour grasping her neck, and a boy Baptist playing with him,[2] a panel which has been missing for many years, though quietly ensconced at the Uffizi under the title of Madonna del Pozzo.[3] Passavant very properly expels this from the catalogue of Raphael's works,[4] though it is of a period when Sanzio left a clear impress on Florentine art. The playful clinging of the Redeemer to his mother's bosom, as if he had sprung there into charming security at the approach of the Baptist, the Leonardesque turn of her movement, are quite as characteristic of Francia Bigio, when his style was not yet very distant from that of Bugiardini, as are the round head of the Virgin, the forms of the infants, and the dresses. In these we meet with a cento of Fra Bartolommeo and Andrea del Sarto, whilst the landscape is still nearer to one by the Frate, and the surface has the polished enamel of the Florentines of this time. The type, shape, and figures are almost as much Francia Bigio's as are those of the

[1] A fresco of St. Bernard, and a St. Catherine of Siena, in S. Pancrazio, of the same period, are gone (VASARI, v. 190).

[2] VASARI, v. 190.

[3] Florence, Uffizi, No. 1,125. Catalogued as Raphael. [*Now as Francia Bigio.] Otto Mündler was unwilling to accept our belief as to Francia Bigio being the author of this picture and he assigns it to Bugiardini. He does not convince us, the more so as his opinion that the Madonna del Pozzo and the Holy Family by Ridolfo Ghirlandaio (No. 1,224 at the Uffizi) are by one hand is quite untenable. See *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst, u.s.*, ii. 302, 303. [*The prevalent view is now that the picture No. 1,224 at the Uffizi is by Francia Bigio.]

[4] PASSAVANT'S *Raphael, u.s.*, ii. 407.



Photo, Alinari

THE ANNUNCIATION

BY FRANCIA BIGIO

From a picture in the Turin Gallery

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Bathsheba at the Dresden Gallery, or the frescoes in the Scalzo.[1] Diligence and a cautious attention to the rules of proportion were, in Vasari's opinion, the qualities of Francia Bigio's oldest creations.[2] They would have been more enticing if hardness and ungainly heaviness had not disfigured them. But, independently of their intrinsic value, they interest us by laying open the current of thought and of study in the master, and by revealing the influences exerted on him by the teacher from whom he learnt to admire Fra Bartolommeo, and the friend, towards whom he was attracted by conformity of taste and inclinations. They cause us also to remember that Leonardo and Raphael were the idols of their fellow-artists, and that they more or less affected most of the rising men of their age. We shall see that it was to be Francia Bigio's constant chance to have his best performances called after Raphael and del Sarto. That they should have received the last of these names might seem an easy consequence of the connection between two men who were comrades at school and kept a joint atelier afterwards. But that the first should have been still more frequently used, is a distinction of no common kind.

We have no sure grounds for assuming any fixed date for the association with Andrea del Sarto, Vasari's statements being too general to permit of any safe deductions on that point, and Francia Bigio's works being from the beginning affected by the acquaintance of his future companion. We are inclined, however, to place before the Sposalizio of 1513, in the court of the Servi at Florence, the Virgin and Child between SS. John Evangelist and Job, now at the Uffizi, the two angels at the sides of Sansovino's St. Nicholas in S. Spirito, and the Calumny of Apelles in the Pitti. Reminiscent still of the masters we have mentioned, and extremely smooth in surface, they are, all three, in a state that almost forbids criticism, but the Calumny is put together with figures of good though short and fat proportions, and outlined with a view to reproduce a well-fed and somewhat puffy, not a finely bred or noble, nature.[3]

[1] The cartoon of this Madonna, once in possession of Mr. Wicar was considered by him as from the hand of Francia Bigio.

[2] VASARI, v. 191 *sq.*

[3] The first of these (No. 1,264, wood, oil, life-size, at the Uffizi) was originally in S. Giobbe (VASARI, v. 191), and is much dimmed by time and restoring.

That neither del Sarto nor Francia Bigio were asked to paint the curtains of the altarpiece by Filippino and Perugino at the Servi, as Vasari pretends,[1] is testified by the records of the convent, which contain the payment of that work to Andrea di Cosimo.[2] That Francia Bigio was employed at the Servi in 1513, is testified by documents. It is credible that about that time a partnership existed between him and del Sarto, and it cannot be denied that he had then acquired much more skill than is shown in the panels of his younger days.

In the court of the Servi, the high priest unites Joseph and Mary in front of a noble palace, on the walls of which bas-reliefs represent the Sacrifice of Isaac, Adam and Eve near the tree of knowledge, and Moses receiving the tables of the law. The joy of the grey-haired St. Joseph is tempered by the expectation of the buffet from the best man, who stands behind him. The despair of the unsuccessful suitors is well depicted in one who wrings his hands, to the left, as well as in a second, who sits and breaks the rod that would not blossom. To the right, two youths stand with their arms interlaced, and a female chides her crying child.

As the fresco was all but finished, a day of great solemnity for the Servites came on, and some of the monks took upon themselves to remove the screens which covered it. The wrath of Francia Bigio was such that he walked straight from his lodging to the convent, and with a mason's hammer almost struck out the heads of the Virgin and some males and females. This act of choler was so much approved by Francia Bigio's fellow-craftsmen that none of them would consent to restore the parts he had destroyed, and though as late as 1515 he was peremptorily ordered to put

It hangs so high that one cannot see the initials "F. B. C." that are said to be on it.

The two angels likewise noticed by VASARI (v. 191) are half as large as life, one with a lily, the other with a book; the surface cracked or blackened in the shadows.

The Calumny (No. 427, at the Pitti), a small piece, has become sombre, and is excessively retouched, but was originally of the same class as the foregoing. The initials "F. B." are on the plinths of the distant pillars, and an inscription at the base runs thus: "Claudite, qui regitis populus his vocibus aures sic manibus lapsus nostris pinxit Apelles."

[1] VASARI, v. 8.

[2] BIFFOLI, in annot. VASARI, v. 207.



Photo, Alinari

THE SPOSALIZIO

BY FRANCIA BIGIO

From a fresco in SS. Annunziata, Florence

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the wall into its original state, he successfully resisted every threat, and the fresco remains to this day in the condition in which he left it.[1] Enough has been preserved to justify Vasari's eulogy of the artist's diligence, and the soft contrasts of tints as well as the vague fusion of colour which rivals that of del Sarto in rosy airiness and transparent delicacy, is an instance of the ability he possessed, and the great practice he had attained. The composition is correct according to the most rigid maxims, but there is a stilted affectation in some poses which cannot be commended. The drapery is fair, but has too many straight or parallel folds. The nude is well proportioned, but the drawing of the parts might be more careful, and the transitions from light to shadow should be better defined. Francia Bigio, however, never did anything better, and the Sposalizio of the Servi is his masterpiece in fresco.

Whilst he was thus giving evidence of talent in mural decoration, he strove to gain a reputation as a portrait-painter, and in that capacity achieved, perhaps, the most flattering of successes.

Every frequenter of the Louvre knows a sombre portrait of a young man standing, with his elbow on a ledge, at an opening through which a landscape and two little figures are seen. His hollow eyes are sunken under a marked, bony brow. His hair, cap, and dress are black. The forms of the face and hands are scant in flesh, and broken in contour, the cavities and retreating parts in deep unfathomable shadow.[2] Hundreds of students have copied this piece, round the melancholy charm of which a halo has been thrown by the name of Raphael. Yet critics have long agreed that that name is not to be sustained; and in its stead have called that of Francesco Francia, whose technical system is different, or of Bugiardini, whose powers are too humble. The most obvious objection to the nomenclature hitherto preferred is derived from the essentially Florentine character of the likeness and its accessories. It discloses the studious effort of a highly accurate draughtsman deeply impressed by the examples of Leonardo and his mode of handling, and familiar with the

[1] VASARI, v. 193; and BIFFOLI's records in annot., *ib.*

[2] Louvre, No. 1,644. Under the name of Raphael. A piece of dark colour all round the edges is new.

methods applied in more than one of da Vinci's heads.[1] It defines a skeleton of bone like that in the Virgin of the Turin Annunciation. Its features, instead of being simplified into grandeur, as Raphael would have done, are elaborated to the loss of simplicity, full of research rather than of feeling. One might apply to the author Vasari's opinion of Francia Bigio: "A man of slight refinement, because he laboured too much, producing with a certain hardness, but cautious and diligent in the measure of proportions."[2] The colour is of a low-tinted, hard, and glassy enamel unknown to Raphael, its shadows thin and dark, its execution that of Francia Bigio, and betraying an acquaintance with that of Andrea del Sarto.

Had not other portraits of the same class presented themselves for comparison with this of the Louvre, it would have been becoming to put the question more in the light of an inquiry. But a whole series of similar ones exists, some of them catalogued as by Francia Bigio, and bearing his monogram; others with a similar cognizance, yet classed as by Raphael or Andrea del Sarto.

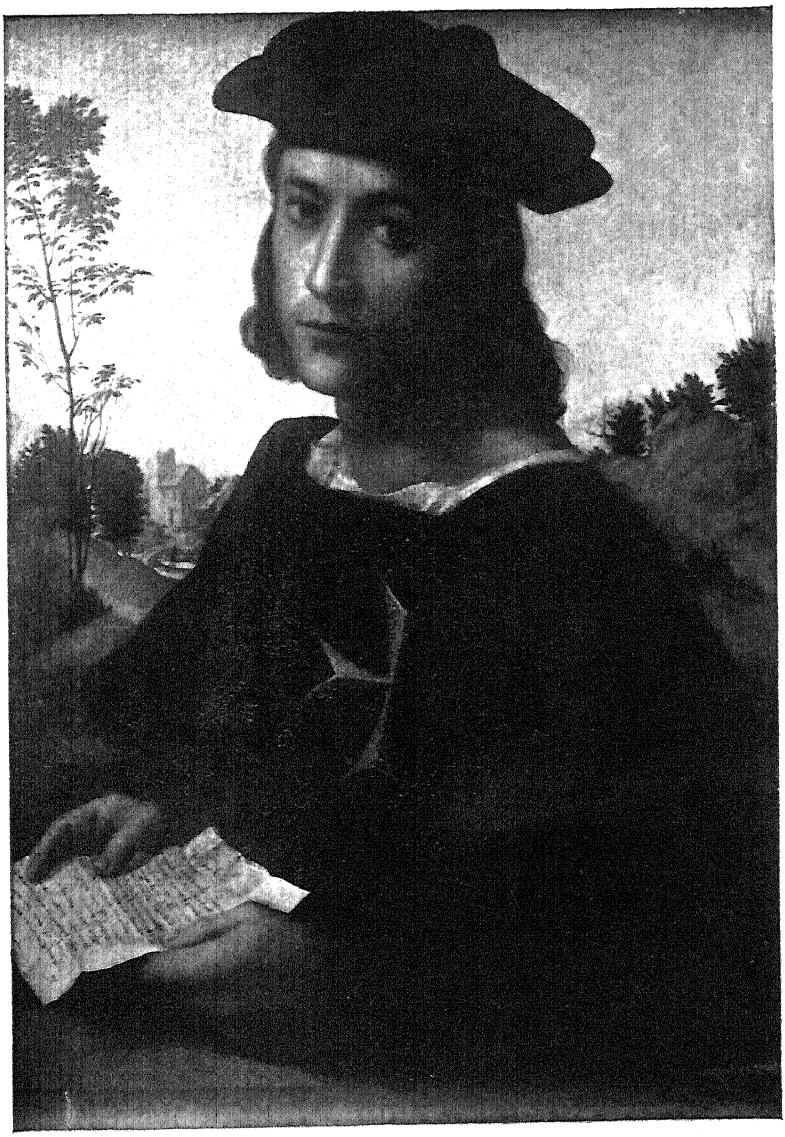
The first, known for centuries as Francia Bigio's, is that in the Pitti Gallery at Florence, of a youth in cap, tunic, and mantle, at a window through which we look at a pleasant, but not brightly lighted, undulating distance. A glove is in his right hand. The left gesticulates naturally. The pose is free, showing to advantage a handsome and juvenile person; the face is open, and the eyes beaming with a suppressed smile. A good flow of hair falls from a black cap to the dark dress that covers the shoulders.[3] On the border is the monogram twice repeated and the date: "A. S. (anno salutis) M.D.XIIII." Restorers have seriously interfered with the beauty of the figure, and the flesh has become tawny from time and retouching, but the style is here and at the Louvre perfectly alike, though it betrays a more recent date, and a more habitual skill in the painter.

Superior to this of the Pitti, in every sense, is the fine portrait

[1] *E.g.*, and particularly in the Portrait of a Goldsmith, No. 207, at the Pitti. [* This, as we shall see (p. 142, n. 1), is a Leonardesque work by Ridolfo Ghirlandaio.]

[2] VASARI, v. 191 *sq.*

[3] Pitti Gallery, No. 43. The monogram may be found in the Berlin catalogue, No. 245, or in NAGLER, *Die Monogrammisten*, 8°, München, 1861, II. Band, p. 207.



PORTRAIT OF A YOUNG MAN

BY FRANCIA BIGIO

From a picture in the National Gallery

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of Stanstead House, which Mr. Fuller Maitland attributes to Raphael in spite of Francia Bigio's monogram.[1] We cannot affect to contemn the reasons which induce the owner of such a masterpiece to cling to the name of Sanzio, when we remember that that of the Louvre has been for years so called, and the stamp of art is similar and discloses the same hand in both. Whilst in the latter Francia Bigio exhibits the diligence, the precision, and power of a man full of eagerness to excel, as well as to embody the maxims of Leonardo, the former discloses less carefulness, but more self-possession, a greater ease in the use of colours of a solid texture, more elasticity and good breeding in the pose, beauty in the contour and modelling in form. In this very progress lies, we admit, an additional ground for the supposition of Raphael's authorship. But the execution is not less decisive against Sanzio at Stanstead House than at the Louvre, and the Leonardesque system as derived from the companion of Fra Bartolommeo, or even from the contemplation of the Frate's own creations is so clear that, independently of Francia Bigio's sign-manual, no doubt can be allowed to exist as to his right to this piece. So perfect, indeed, is the coincidence between the technical habits of della Porta and those of Francia Bigio here, that years have caused their works to undergo exactly similar changes. We have seen the flesh-tints of the Frate gain a strong low tinge and dark shadows that rob the surface of its original transparence and softness. This is what time has done for Francia Bigio in this instance without, however, depriving him of any essential charm. The undulating landscape behind the figure is of the pleasing nature observable in all those of Fra Bartolommeo and Raphael; the slopes neatly cut up by paths, dotted with trees and houses, and the vale parted by a stream flowing gently through meadows and crossed by a bridge. Every detail is touched with taste and accuracy. The person at the opening seems disinclined to enjoy these beauties. His age may be from twenty-five to thirty. The dark cap that casts its shadow on his forehead covers long locks of brown hair, and his dress, with ample sleeves, is adorned with an order of knighthood. His regular features and penetrant eyes are slightly contracted

* [1] This picture is now in the National Gallery (No. 1,035).

by melancholy thoughts, and he gazes at the spectator as he abstractedly holds a letter in both hands, repeating inwardly, perhaps, the motto written on the parapet: "Tar ublia. chi. bien aima." Of the note itself the words are illegible. A date, 1514 (? 1516),[1] is on it, but no clue to the identity of the person to whom it is addressed.[2]

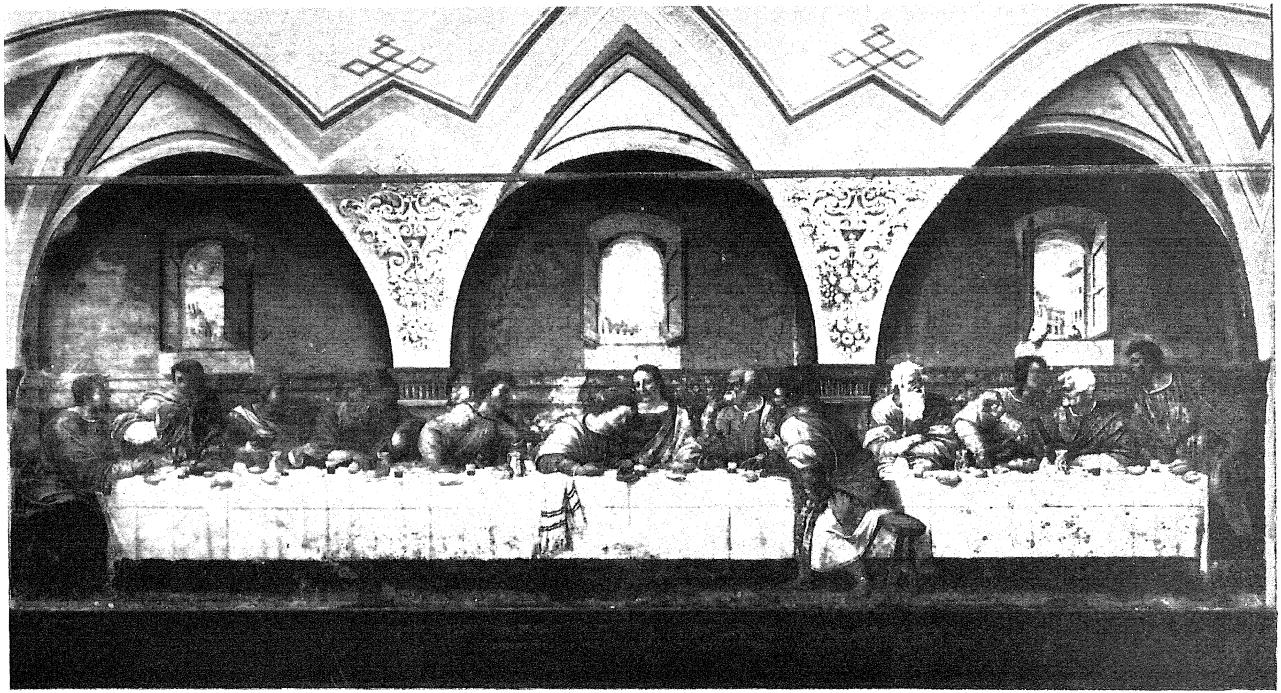
Next in order to this, and in the same manner, though much restored, is a half-length of a man at a window, in the collection of Lord Yarborough in London, supposed to be Antonio Caradosso of Milan, by Raphael. Yet here, as at the Pitti, are the interwoven ciphers of Francia Bigio at each side of the date "A. S. MDXVI." The person reproduced is a jeweller, about fifty years old or more, portly, shaven, and of full flesh; his cap on, his dress of a brown coffee-colour. In his left hand he holds a plate of glass on which he has been tracing lines with a ring to try the genuineness of a diamond. Three other rings are on the window-sill. The execution is already freer than in the panel of Mr. Fuller Maitland.[3]

More interesting again, because we stumble on a portrait of which Vasari has spoken, is the factor of Pier Francesco de' Medici, ascribed to Andrea del Sarto, in the picture gallery at Windsor Castle. Though restoring has left blemishes on particular spots, and the colour has the dinginess of age, especially in the shadows, there is no mistaking the hand of Francia Bigio, whose monogram also is clearly outlined on the curved blade of a chopper hanging with another instrument of the same kind from a nail in a wall. The man is about fifty, in the usual dress of the period, with his head covered, writing in a book, a bunch of

* [1] The correct reading is probably 1515.

[2] This portrait (wood, oil, large as life) belonged in 1860 to Mr. Seymour Fitzgerald in London, and has been supposed, probably on insufficient grounds, to be that of Giulio, the natural son of Giuliano de' Medici. It is clear that, after the drawing of this piece had been done, the flesh parts were rubbed in with a warm, local colour so as to let the white ground appear through it. Thus we see in the transitions from light to shadow that the half-tones are transparent, and receive light from within. More substantial are the superposed lights, with their varied shades of cool or livid tinge, and the shadows of warm brown laid in over each other. The portrait is in first-rate preservation.

[3] Wood, oil, life-size, much injured and restored. In the distant landscape to the right two little figures on a road. The monogram is a little imperfect owing to abrasion, the upper part of the letter F. being taken away The colour, in consequence of damage sustained, is of a heavy yellow in the flesh.



Photo, Alinari

THE LAST SUPPER

BY FRANCIA BIGIO

From a fresco in S. Giovanni Battista della Calza, Florence

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keys hanging from his wrist; an ink-bottle in his left hand; a shield in the border of stone upon which he rests, bearing the six golden balls of the Medici; and an olive-branch denoting the peaceful nature of his occupation. Originally in the collection of Charles I., this fine half-length is singularly ready in movement, laid in with a full sweep of strongly consistent colour, in which we miss too obviously an absence of transparence in tones merging from fair yellow in flesh light to a cool grey in the half-tones, and black in the shadows. We thus perceive how Francia Bigio modifies his style, and gradually disimproves by assuming bolder and easier habits.[1] It is in this phase that he found himself when he finished a bust of a male in a cap and dark-laced dress, with falling auburn hair, catalogued as by Sebastian del Piombo at the Berlin Museum,[2] a thoughtful face, well drawn and modelled, and of substantial impasto.[3] The latest example of the series is the half-length, in the same collection, of a man almost in full front, with a pen in his right hand, and his left arm on a desk, done with great freedom, and less pleasing in tone than successful in the swing of the pose and knack of the handling. The date of 1522 and the monogram leave no doubt that we see in this the most advanced and least perfect thing of its kind by our artist.[4]

Whilst devoting himself, as occasion required, to portraits, Francia Bigio did not neglect the more difficult exercise of fresco. A much-injured "Cena" in S. Giovanni Battista della Calza,[5]

[1] On the back of the panel is the royal mark "R. C.," surmounted by the royal crown. The portrait is in the catalogue of King Charles's collection (copied in WAAGEN, *Treasures*, ii. 478), under A. del Sarto's name. VASARI speaks of it (v. 197 *sq.*). The monogram is upside down on the chopper. The figure size of life. All the flesh shadows darkened, and part of the left cheek, right hand, and dress, restored. The background is a wall; the writing in the book not legible, and probably never intended to be so.

[*2] Now officially restored to Francia Bigio.

[3] No. 235, Berlin Museum (wood, oil, life-size), of a low grey and opaque tone. The background plain and of a dark brown.

[4] Berlin Museum, No. 245 (wood, oil, life-size). The hands repainted; the rest of a cold tone, at one painting; the landscape clear and pleasant. A paper on the desk contains the monogram of Francia Bigio and the word: "1522, a dì 24 d' ottobre."

[5] This fresco is in the refectory, and has been injured by damp. It is mentioned by VASARI (v. 193 *sq.*).

and another in S. Maria de' Candeli, with the initials of his name, due, perhaps, to the industry of his assistants as much as to his own, exhibit his talent in a less favourable light than at the Servi in 1513; whilst an Annunciation, a symbolic Crucifixion between St. Thomas of Villanuova and St. Anthony of Padua, a triad with St. Augustine, and a Nativity, also at S. Maria de' Candeli, serve to illustrate the carelessness to which men of fair attainments may occasionally succumb.[1] The truth may be that there was much in the occupations of artists at this time to favour the growth of slight or scenic painting; and when we find that Francia Bigio was invariably one of those engaged on public occasions, whether mournful or the reverse, in which decorations were required, as on the funeral of Julian de' Medici in 1516, and the wedding of Lorenzo de' Medici in 1518,[2] we seek no other reasons for the hasty manner which he occasionally assumed.

At the Scalzo in 1518 and 1519, Francia Bigio was employed to fill the void created by the absence of Andrea del Sarto. But previously to that time, and possibly when still in partnership, he might have had a share in the Baptism of Christ, which is framed in one of the compartments next to the allegory of Charity. It has been usual to give this feeble number of a great series to Andrea del Sarto,[3] though the drawing is loose, defining short fat forms without any of the vigour which we expect from Andrea; and were it even proved that the commission was his, we should suppose the work to have been done with the help of Francia Bigio when both men lived in common at their shop in the Piazza del Grano.[4]

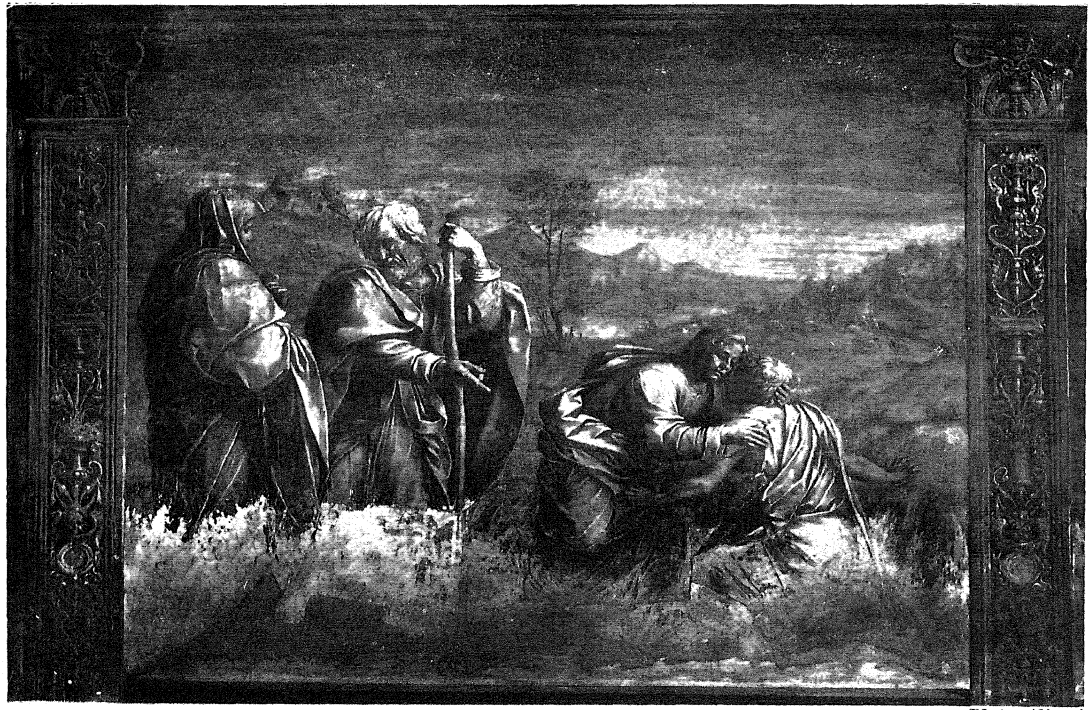
In the Departure of St. John for the desert, and the Meeting

[1] S. Maria de' Candeli is now the Liceo militare in Via de' Pilastri. [* At present it is used as a barrack. The room adorned by these frescoes is the Archivio legionale.] The Last Supper is in the usual form, with Judas alone at the front side of the table. Near him is the inscription: "F^a B^o." The figures are almost life-size, and rudely reminiscent of Fra Bartolommeo. SS. Nicholas and Monica, near the Last Supper, are a little better, perhaps; but all the other work in the refectory is poorer, and probably by pupils, of whom the chief may have been Sogliani.

[2] VASARI, v. 101, 208; vi. 436.

[3] *Ib.*, v. 9.

[4] The Baptism is one of the few frescoes of which the date is not positively proved (see annot. VASARI, v. 67); and if done in 1514, would show a strange dissimilarity to the work of del Sarto elsewhere.



Photo, Alinari

MEETING OF CHRIST AND ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST

BY FRANCIA BIGIO

From a fresco in the Chiostro dello Scalzo, Florence

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of Christ with the Baptist, the figures are designed with neglectful ease, in proportions far too curt and pinguid to please the eye; and the absence of breadth and mass in light and shadows which alone produce a perfect semblance of relief, as well as coarse features and festooned draperies, place Francia Bigio in unfavourable contrast with his rival.[1]

When both men subsequently competed (1521) at the Medici Palace in Poggio a Cajano, the same comparison might have been made, and although Francia Bigio showed that he possessed the power of animating his personages, and distributing them with propriety, he not only proclaimed a decline from the standard erected by himself at the Servi, but he fell into greater coarseness and heaviness than was consistent with his duty. His Triumph of Cicero, with all its apparatus of obelisks, rostra and temples, is coloured without much harmony or transparence; and the supernatural proportions of his people are common and square. But, in spite of this he surpasses Pontormo, and shines by the side of the later Allori, and the general division of the decoration which he planned is not altogether amiss.[2]

Francia Bigio's endeavour at last was, it is clear, to make a livelihood by rapidity of hand. On Vasari's own showing, his first wish had been to lay a strong foundation by the constant study of nude and anatomy,[3] but finally he accepted on principle every order that was given to him, having come to the conclusion that he had not the stuff for rivalling men of superior genius. Still, to the last he kept at a respectable level, especially in small things, and the Bath of Queen Bathsheba and her nymphs, with the Royal Feast at the Dresden Museum, which he finished in 1523, secures respectful if not unconditional admiration. We may object to the short stature and puffiness of the females, yet praise the vigour and lucidity of the colour, the freedom of the touch,

[1] These two subjects at the Scalzo were begun in 1518, and finished in March, 1519. The ornament in the court, of arabesques, festoons, and cherubs' heads, where they are not repainted, seem to us to be by Francia Bigio.

[2] Andrea del Sarto did his fresco in 1521, as is shown by the inscription, and VASARI says he and Francia Bigio painted together (v. 195). Pontormo's work dates 1532, Allori's 1582. The waggon roof, with white relief ornament, on gold ground, and the Medici arms are Francia Bigio's.

[3] VASARI, v. 196.

the beauty of the composition, and the natural force and truth of the movements. We observe, as before, a style ingeniously formed on the models of Fra Bartolommeo and Andrea del Sarto.[1]

The death of Francia Bigio took place at Florence on January 14, 1525 (*n.s.*).[2]

The catalogue of works unnoticed in the foregoing text will be short:

Florence. Uffizi, No. 1,223. Temple of Hercules. Part of a "Cassone." Wood, oil. Of Francia Bigio's late period, broad, animated, and quickly done, of a strong brownish tone. Some figures taken apparently from Dürer.

Florence. Casa Ciacchi. Noli me tangere. Genuine. (VASARI, v. 198.)[3]

Berlin. Museum, No. 105. Marriage of the Virgin. Piece of a predella, gaudy and slight, and below Francio Bigio.[4]

St. Petersburg. Hermitage, No. 27. Half-length portrait of a man. Fine. Not by Francia Bigio, but difficult to class. The handling and colour are reminiscent of Bronzino, but also of Antonio Moro.[5]

It seems appropriate to close the list of men who assumed the manner of Fra Bartolommeo and Mariotto, with Giovanni Antonio Sogliani, who first learnt the elements from Credi and then sought to gain the qualities which he did not find in his own master by looking at the works of most of the great Florentines. Sogliani

[1] Dresden Museum, No. 75. The monogram is on the jug carried by a female, on the right, in the bath. The date "A. S. MDXXIII" on the side of the bath itself. In the background a shield quartering the arms of the Medici. Wood, oil, preservation good, figures small.

[2] *Tav. alfab.* He was buried in San Pancrazio.

[*3] This fresco has now been removed to the Museo di S. Marco (Anticamera del refettorio grande, No. 1).

[*4] This may be ascribed with more reason to Girolamo del Pacchia, as suggested by Mr. BERENSON (*Central Italian Painters*, p. 210).

[*5] The following extant pictures by Francia Bigio may still be noticed:

Hamburg. Late Weber collection, No. 119. Bust of a Man.

London. Mr. R. H. Benson. Bust of a man (from the Pianciatichi collection, Florence). The Story of Narcissus.

Rome. Palazzo Corsini, No. 581. Male portrait.

Vienna. Imperial Gallery, No. 46. The Virgin and Child. *Liechtenstein collection, No.* 254. The Virgin and Child and St. John. Portrait of a man (dated 1517).

was born in 1492;[1] he stayed in Credi's atelier twenty-four years,[2] was registered in the guild of Florence in 1522, and must therefore have been apprenticed at a very tender age.[3] Few of his pictures have dates, except the Martyrdom of St. Arcadius of 1521 in S. Lorenzo, and St. Dominic's miracle of the bread, a fresco of 1536 in S. Marco, at Florence. But some of his numerous panels at Pisa are done after the return of Perino del Vaga from Genoa (*circa* 1528), and others after the death of Andrea del Sarto in 1531.

We have had occasion to mention his name in connection with Credi's least successful productions. We see how he could imitate that artist in the poor copy of his Nativity at Berlin,[4] and ape his smoothness of tone in the somewhat empty lucid colour of a St. Martin, on one of the pilasters of the church of Orsanmichele.[5] In the martyrdom of St. Arcadius on the cross at S. Lorenzo in Florence, Sogliani has occasion to introduce a broad exhibition of nude in which he betrays the study of Mariotto, Francia Bigio, and Andrea del Sarto, preserving at the same time an exceedingly even and polished surface of reddish tone. It is in good condition, handled with tolerable judgment, and not wanting in life, yet without the stamp of originality.[6] In the Assumption[7] at S. Giovanni Battista, contiguous to the Spedale di Bonifacio, there is something incongruous and fantastic in the arrangement of a glory in which the Eternal floats above the Virgin, holding up the train of her cloak, whilst his own mantle is raised by angels. On the foreground, the group of saints and the prostrate Adam disclose a judicious clinging to nature, correct outlines of limb and extremity, fair movement, but square shapes, with a scruple of Fra Bartolommeo's grandeur in air and drapery. The mask of the Eternal is reminiscent of Mariotto, and traces of Credi are in the puffy contours of the angels.

[1] He died, aged 52, in 1544 (VASARI, v. 132; and *Tav. alfab.*). [2] VASARI, v. 123.

[3] The annot. of VASARI (v. 123, note 1) say 1522. The register of GUALANDI, *Memorie*, ser. vi., p. 182, says 1525. The annotators are likely to be right.

[4] Berlin, Museum, No. 99. Copy of Credi's No. 92 in the Florence Academy of Arts; flat, red in tone, and, to use a French expression, *lêché*.

[5] On a pilaster facing the St. Bartholomew of Credi, much dimmed by time.

[6] Chapel 21, in S. Lorenzo. Wood, oil, with the inscription in gold letters at foot of the cross of: "Johannes Antonius Soglianus faciebat 1521."

* [7] The subject of the picture is the Immaculate Conception.

In colouring this subject, Sogliani strives also to master the methods of the Frate and of Albertinelli, combining them with the excessive smoothness of Lorenzo, his teacher, and a misty vapour known only by the Italian word *sfumato*.[1]

At S. Jacopo sopra Arno, a Trinity, with three saints, illustrates the same phase in Sogliani, though raw, and feebly done at one painting.[2] But the best example of it is the sacrifice of Noah, in the choir of the Pisa Duomo, in which the males have a bold masculine strength, and the females compensate for vulgarity by feeling.[3]

Two figures of Cain and Abel in this cathedral, and a Virgin under a conical daïs with numerous saints, are of a later date.[4] The last, indeed, had been commenced by Perino del Vaga, and presents for that reason, perhaps, an unusual slenderness in the forms, and a composition akin to those of Rosso, but the system on which the whole is coloured is true to the maxims handed down through Fra Bartolommeo and Mariotto from da Vinci, and the deep brown tone has been darkened by the effects of age.[5]

Having in this instance taken a subject to finish which a

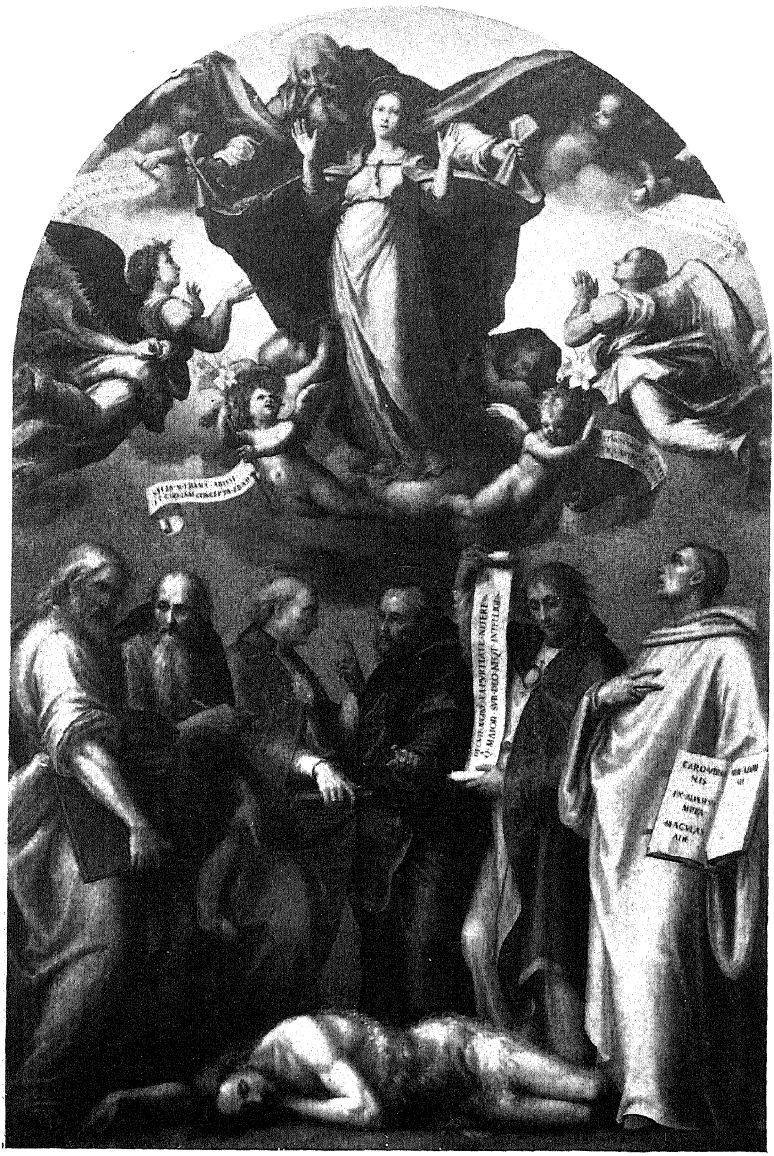
[1] The church is in Via S. Gallo at Florence. The picture on wood, in oil, with life-size figures. The Virgin is paltry in shape, as are some of the lower saints. There is atmosphere in the sky, and harmony in the parts. The flesh shadows tend to green. [* This picture is now in the Uffizi (No. 63).]

[2] S. Jacopo sopr' Arno at Florence, sacristy. Wood, arched at top, oil; split vertically in two places. Above, the Eternal holds the Saviour on the cross. Below, St. James, the Magdalen, and St. Catherine. Figures life-size. [* This picture is now in the Museo di S. Marco (No. 13).]

[3] The colour of this panel (oil, life-size) is injured—*i.e.*, blackened by time, retouched, and has in part scaled.

[4] Cain advances with an offering of corn. Abel kneels, holding up a lamb. Both figures are of the size of nature, on panel (oil); the colour low and brown, and blackened in the shadows.

[5] Wood, oil, figures life-size. Two angels supporting the conical daïs are a distant echo of those of the Frate. St. Catherine and St. Barbara seated in the foreground are of fair proportions and in easy pose. St. Torpé to the right, with his shield, is grand enough; St. John the Baptist, opposite to him at the other side, too slender in contrast. The other saints are five in number, amongst them Peter, Francis, and a female. The colour is sombre, but careful, fused and "sfumato." [* The statement that this picture—which was valued on October 30, 1538—was begun by Perino del Vaga is unfounded. See SUPINO, in *Archivio storico dell' arte*, ser. i., vol. vi., p. 435 *sq.*]



Photo, Alinari

THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION

BY SOGLIANI

From a picture in the Uffizi, Florence

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Raphaelesque Florentine had sketched out, Sogliani next attempted the Virgin with saints at the altar of the Madonna delle Grazie in the Duomo of Pisa, a panel which Andrea del Sarto had begun for the Compagnia di S. Francesco. In most of the figures he kept the outlines of the original cartoon except, perhaps, in the kneeling St. Jerome on the foreground, who is colossal and heavy.[1] He reverted to his own distinct manner in the Miracle at S. Marco, where St. Dominic is seated with his brethren whilst the food is brought in by two angels, and in a Crucifixion with saints in a lunette above it.[2]

His friendship for Credi lasted till the death of the latter, in proof of which it is only necessary to state that Sogliani witnessed Lorenzo's will in 1531.[3] From that time till 1544, when he died,[4] he doubtless furnished many pieces of which we can only register the following :

Anghiari. Chiesa di S. Maria del Fosso. Last supper (not seen). Described by VASARI (v. 126) and by REUMONT (*Life of del Sarto*, small 8°, Leipzig, 1835, pp. 164, 165) as a panel in oil, on the model of del Sarto's Cena in S. Salvi at Florence.[5]

Fiesole. S. Domenico. Adoration of the Magi, finished, according to VASARI (v. 124) by Santo di Tito. This bears no trace any longer of the hand of Sogliani.

Florence. Monache della Crocetta. A Last Supper, in oil (VASARI, v. 125); much injured.

[1] This picture (wood, oil, life-size) was long in the Compagnia di S. Francesco (VASARI, v. 129, 49 *sq.*), and was transferred to the Duomo in 1785, the Compagnia having in the meantime been suppressed (MORRONA, *Pisa Illust., u.s.*, i. 207). The Virgin is enthroned in a landscape, with the Child, between the young Baptist and an angel playing a viol. In front, besides the St. Jerome, are SS. Nicholas and Bartholomew, erect.

[2] Besides the Magdalen and St. John Evangelist, St. Antonino and St. Catherine of Siena kneel at the sides. The frescoes are inscribed: "A. S. M. DXXXVI," the lower parts of which are injured. Sogliani had intended to paint the Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes, but was prevented by the Fathers of the convent (VASARI, v. 129 *sq.*).

[3] GAYE, *Carteggio*, i. 376.

[4] He died July 17, 1544, and was buried in S. Maria Novella (*Tav. alfab.*).

*[5] This picture, which is of considerable size (1·95 by 7·25 m.), was ordered from Sogliani on June 17, 1531. In the same church is another picture by him, representing Christ washing the feet of the Apostles. See P. L. OCCHINI, *Valle Tiberina* (Bergamo, 1910), p. 31 *sqq.*, with reproductions.

Florence. Ex-Palazzo Taddeo (now a magazine, via de' Ginori). Fresco of the Crucifixion, greatly damaged.

Florence. Uffizi, No. 166. Virgin with the Child blessing the young Baptist. Wood, oil. The origin of Sogliani's education under Credi is marked in the puffy forms of the children. The execution is that of a follower of Mariotto. The panel is the best of the following series, at Paris, Brescia, and London.

Paris. Ex-Pourtalès Gallery. Virgin, Child, and Baptist. Noticed in Mariotto (p. 113).

Brescia. Galleria Martinengo. Nativity. See *antea* in Fra Bartolommeo (p. 94).

London. National Gallery, No. 645. Ex-Beaucousin collection. Virgin and Child. See *antea* in Mariotto (p. 113).

Florence. Duca Corsini. Porta al Prato. Virgin with the Child and the infant Baptist at her knee. A genuine Sogliani, of heavy aspect and hard, diaphanous tone. Wood, oil, figures half as large as life.

Brussels. Museum, No. 637. "Unknown."[1] Virgin with the Child, to whom the young Baptist presents a cross; small panel in oil, in Sogliani's manner when still reminiscent of Credi. The compositiou is almost similar to the following.

Turin. Museum, No. 139. "Cesare da Sesto." Virgin, Child, and Baptist, by Sogliani or one of his followers.[2]

Brussels. Museum, No. 638. Holy Family, with the initials: "M. A.," suggestive for this of Mariotto, but not unlike a work of the school which Sogliani cultivated; perhaps by Mariano da Pescia.

Florence. Academy of Arts, No. 177.[3] Virgin, Child, Archangel with Tobit, and St. Augustine. In Sogliani's manner. *Same collection, No.* 178. The Virgin gives the girdle to St. Thomas; SS. John Baptist, Catherine, and Giovanni Gualberto; dated "A. D. MCCCCCXXI." Originally at S. Maria sul Prato. This is by a follower of Sogliani who imitated Fra Bartolommeo. His name is Sigismondo Foschi of Faenza, by whom we possess a Virgin and Child between saints at Milan.

Milan. Brera, No. 465. Signed: "Sigismundus Fuscus Faentinus faciebat 1527." In this the imitation of Fra Bartolommeo is still more clear. A glory of angels in the arching is a broad caricature of the Frate, such as Bacchiacca might have done. The composition is like

*[1] Now catalogued as a work by Bugiardini.

*[2] Now officially ascribed to Sogliani.

*[3] Now in the Museo di S. Marco (No. 9).

that of the Frate's Madonna at S. Marco. The outlines are mannered, the nude exaggerated in the Michaelangelesque direction; the colour dull and of thin texture, with an excessive use of bitumen. The following is another example of the same kind by Foschi.

Faenza. Academy. Virgin and Child between the erect SS. Paul, John the Baptist, Benedict, and Sebastian, and the kneeling SS. Catherine and Apollonia. Here is a still stronger *sfumato*, and less truth and vigour than before in style and drapery.

Florence. S. Giovanni Battista. Contiguous to the Spedale di S. Bonifazio.[1] St. Brigitta, on a pedestal between several nuns and friars, in prayer, looks up to a vision of the Virgin and Child, and issues the rules of an order. At her feet is a crown, and on the pedestal the words: "Orate pro pictore." 1522 (wood, oil, figures life-size). The composition is in Fra Bartolommeo's fashion, and some of the figures are carried out with elegance and feeling; but the colour is fluid, and laid on at one painting with copious vehicle. The names of Fra Bartolommeo and Mariotto, which first come into consideration, become doubtful in respect of the execution, which is more according to the habits of Sogliani. Yet it is almost too good for him, and something Bolognese in its appearance might point to Innocenzo da Imola, and confirm Vasari's assertion that he studied under Mariotto. In the same place is the Annunciation assigned by Vasari to Soggi, but more like a Sogliani, as we have already noted (*antea*, v. 135).[2]

*1 Now in the Uffizi (No. 62).

*2 The following pictures by Sogliani may still be mentioned:

Florence. Uffizi, No. 13. Christ meeting the Marys on His way to Golgotha (from S. Maria Nuova). *S. Niccolò al Ceppo.* The Visitation.

London. Mr. C. Fairfax Murray (shown at Burlington House, 1908, No. 31). Half-length of St. Catherine (signed: "Johannes Antonius faciebat").

Pisa. Duomo. On last pillar of nave, to left. The Virgin and Child. Fragment of an altarpiece completed by Sogliani for the Duomo of Pisa in 1540, and injured in the fire which ravaged that building in 1595. Other fragments of the same picture are in the Museo Civico of Pisa (Sala VII., Nos. 4 and 5: Two Putti, No. 18: SS. Andrew, Nicholas of Bari, and Anthony the Abbot). See SUPINO, *u.s.*, p. 436 *sqq.*

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CHAPTER VI

RIDOLFO GHIRLANDAIO AND FRANCESCO GRANACCI

AT his death, of plague, in 1494, Domenico Ghirlandaio left a large family to mourn his loss: his wife Antonia, his brothers Benedetto and David, three sons, and three daughters.[1] In little less than four years, Antonia and Benedetto followed Domenico to the grave, leaving David guardian of the children.[2] Of these, the daughters had the good fortune to marry men of respectable condition; two sons, Antonio and Bartolommeo, entered holy orders; and the third, Ridolfo, was brought up to the profession of his father.

During the lifetime of Domenico, his brothers had been chiefly employed on his behalf, and it is related of them both that they shared with Granacci the honour of finishing, after his decease, the altarpiece of the Tornabuoni at S. Maria Novella. Of the five pieces parted from this decoration and carried to Germany, the Resurrection, at Berlin, exhibits most imperfection, in the stiff and strained action of the figures, the unnatural fold of the drapery, and the dull flatness of the colour. The St. Vincent is still reminiscent of Domenico, being a tempera of good outline and proportion; whereas the St. Antonino, in oil, is in most respects a companion to the least successful parts of the Resurrection.[3] The latter, being distinctly assigned by Vasari to Benedetto, together with a St. Lucy of the same class in S. Maria

[1] See the genealogical table in VASARI, iii. 282 *sq.*

[2] The death of Benedetto took place on July 17, 1497. There must be an error, therefore, in GAYE's record (*Carteggio*, i. 267), in which it is said that Benedetto becomes guardian *in loco patris* of Domenico's children, anno 1498. Perhaps 1493 would be the proper date. The year of his birth is 1458 (*Tav. alfab.*).

[3] Berlin Museum. No. 75: The Resurrection. No. 74: St. Vincent. No. 76: St. Antonino.

Novella,[1] may thus be considered typical of the man, and justify the name attached to a Christ on the road to Golgotha in the gallery of the Louvre.[2]

In this ill-favoured performance, an executioner threatening the Redeemer with his fist betrays an extraordinary absence of refinement. Not in the action only, which stiffly renders quick and passionate movement, but in the coarseness of the face and expression, is vulgarity betrayed. Meanness of station and want of breed are to be found in most of the other actors in the scene, but chiefly in a St. Veronica, whose face is altogether rigid and ignoble. The anatomy of the human frame is in every instance false, the drapery without style, the outline continuous and wiry, the colour sombre and without transition. Such a combination of bad qualities in a man whose chief was remarkable for the dignity of his conceptions is surprising, but may be explained by the fact that Benedetto, who had been a miniaturist and had almost lost his sight, would naturally be unsuccessful in works of importance and compass.[3]

David Ghirlandaio was superior in talents to Benedetto and his elder in years. He was married and fifty-eight years old when his brother died, and a master in the guild of Florence.[4] His chief occupation was the setting of mosaics, of which he furnished specimens in a Virgin amidst angels (1496) now in the Cluny Museum in Paris,[5] on the front of the Duomo at Orvieto

[1] Assigned by guide-books to Ridolfo, but really by Benedetto, and like that of the Louvre (No. 1,323). The St. Lucy is life-size, with a portrait of Fra Tommaso Cortesi adoring her (FANTOZZI, *Guida*, p. 508; and VASARI, vi. 532).

[2] No. 1,323, Louvre. Originally in S. Spirito at Florence.

[3] VASARI says he resided some time in France (vi. 532). His father says, in a *Portata al Catasto* of 1480: "Benedetto was a miniaturist, but left that art because he has an impediment of sight."

[4] Born March 14, 1452 (*Tav. alfab.*). Married and living with his wife, Caterina Mattei, in 1490 (GAYE, i. 268). Registered in his guild, date unknown (GUALANDI, ser. vi., p. 180).

[5] Hôtel de Cluny, No. 1,795. The Virgin and Child between two angels and two palms, on gold ground, once in a chapel at S. Méry of Paris, inscribed: "D. Jo. de Ganai. p̃sids. parisie. p. atulit Ⓔ Italia. parisiũ h ⊜ ⑨ ũ mus." The words: "Opus magistri Davidis Florentini MCCCCLXXXXVI," said to have been once on the frame, are gone. The mosaic is fine, and recalls Domenico Ghirlandaio, whose design was perhaps used.

(1492),[1] in the Cathedral of Siena (1493),[2] in the Cappella di S. Zanobi at S. Maria del Fiore of Florence (1501),[3] and at the SS. Annunziata de' Servi (1504–14).[4] He had previously painted a Crucifixion in the convent of the Angeli.[5] But in no instance did he display any extraordinary talent, being a mere mechanical executant, without ability in reproducing life, without feeling for colour or relief. Yet it was to be his duty to direct the talents of Ridolfo, who lived with him in the Via del Cocomero and frequented his shop on the Piazza S. Michele Berteldi.[6]

Ridolfo was born on February 4, 1483, and threatened to be of a sickly complexion.[7] But he grew up strong and hearty, and had the advantage, after his father's death, of being acquainted with most artists of promise in Florence, whose rivalry or counsel might compensate for the deficiencies of his uncle. He went early to the Brancacci chapel, where most of his contemporaries copied the frescoes of Masaccio, and later to the Papal Hall, after the cartoons of Michael Angelo and Leonardo had been opened to public view;[8] but the persons to whom he was most indebted for guidance and encouragement were Granacci, Piero di Cosimo, and perhaps Rosselli himself.

Under the combined influence of the examples bequeathed by his father and uncles, and of the precepts instilled into him during the course of a careful education, he laboriously perfected a Procession of Christ and the Marys to Calvary, now in the Palazzo Antinori a S. Gaetano in Florence.[9] Benedetto's idea of this subject had obviously left a vivid impression on his mind; and whilst he probably felt how little it was calculated to satisfy the requirements of the time, he appropriated some of its principal

[1] Note to VASARI, vi. 534. The mosaics are missing.

[2] *Doc. sen.*, ii. 452. The mosaics are gone.

[3] VASARI (ed. LE MONNIER), vi. 167; and (ed. SANSONI), vi. 534. The work also absent.

[4] See the records in annot. VASARI, vi. 540. See also, as to a portable mosaic, VASARI, vi. 534.

[5] VASARI, vi. 533. [6] *Portata al Catasto*, 1498, in GAYE, i. 268.

[7] He was put out to nurse at Prato, where, at two years old, his life was despaired of. His parents "vowed a taper of three pounds to the Madonna delle Carcere, and he was saved." See annot. VASARI, vi. 547; and *Tav. alfab.*

[8] VASARI, ii. 299; iv. 321; vi. 534.

[*9] At present in the National Gallery (No. 1,143).

combinations with intuitive tact. We thus see at the Palazzo Antinori a composition more artfully balanced, richer in details, and more copious in its filling, than that of the Louvre, and drawing that reveals more study of models or of Nature; but we mark also the repetition of unattractive types, like that of the St. Veronica, with its round, staring eye, or of scowling soldiers with features gathered into wooden corrugations. The weighty coarseness peculiar to Granacci contrasts here and there with more select shapes, such as that of the Redeemer, whose bending figure recalls Leonardo, the Virgin, who wrings her hands with dignified grief, or the female in rear of her, whose pleasing and regular face is replete with soft melancholy. Slightness of build is usually noticeable, and the tones are laid on with the smoothness of the Leonardesques, Credi, and Piero di Cosimo.[1] How strongly Ridolfo's young mind could be affected by the constant observation of masterpieces by da Vinci and Credi may be judged from the low-tinged but highly finished Annunciation that still hangs in the sacristy of the Montoliveto Abbey outside Florence —a panel in which the gently curved contours and pretty mould of slender and youthful personages, the broken draperies, and hilly landscape are not less characteristic of this tendency than the hard enamel and thick substance of the colour.[2] There was

[1] The landscape is a little cold and yellowish in tone, with trees of a raw green; the touch crisp, and contrasts marked. The figures are half as large as life. The panel, partially split vertically in three places, is much injured and repainted in the lower part, and generally deprived of its glazes, the result being yellow flesh with earthy shadow. The picture was once in S. Gallo at Florence (VASARI, vi. 535). A replica of it, done with the help of Michele di Ridolfo, is in S. Spirito at Florence.

[2] This panel (wood, oil, figures one-third life-size) has remained unobserved, and at first suggests the name of Granacci, but on comparison with the picture previously described seems more appropriately to come under that of Ridolfo. The surface has undergone some cleaning, and the head of the Virgin is raw from that cause. There is some resemblance in her face to that by Domenico Ghirlandaio in the panel once at S. Giusto and now at the Uffizi (No. 1,297). [* The Annunciation noticed above is now in the Uffizi (No. 1,288). It is difficult to accept the name which the authors propose for it. The late Herr von Liphart attributed it to Leonardo, and although it seems unlikely that the picture is entirely his work, it cannot be doubted that he had some share in it. There exists, for instance, a drawing by him for the figure of the angel (at Christ Church, Oxford; see COLVIN, *Drawings of the Old Masters in the University Galleries and in the Library of Christ Church, Oxford*, vol. i.). In all probability, the picture is a production of Verrocchio's workshop. See O. SIRÉN, *Leonardo da Vinci*, Stockholm, 1911, p. 106 *sqq.*]

scarcely one amongst the aspirants to fame in Florentine art at the opening of the sixteenth century who did not feel himself attracted towards da Vinci, and it probably happened that Ridolfo, knowing Cosimo Rosselli, and being acquainted with Baccio della Porta, as well as Mariotto and Piero di Cosimo, caught their enthusiasm for that master, and devoted particular attention to his creations.[1] Vasari, indeed, affirms that Ridolfo studied under Fra Bartolommeo, insinuating that this occurred at the time when Raphael and the Frate had close intercourse with each other; but they might—and we think they did—meet in the shop of Rosselli, whose mode of distribution and thick coating of sombre reddish tints Ridolfo imitated in 1504 in a Coronation of the Virgin undertaken for the nuns of the Convent of S. Jacopo di Ripoli[2] at Florence, and since transferred to the Louvre.[3] From the comparative imperfection of this work, in which we trace an approach to Mariotto and Baccio della Porta through Rosselli and Piero di Cosimo to the more successful mode of delineation, truer proportion, and more plastic relief in four saints at the same convent, a marked phase of improvement is evident. Not that the general tone is less strong or of less lustrous impasto, but that it is richer in the warmth of the yellow lights and brown shadows; whilst the thin figures are more energetic in play of limb and muscle, more correct and natural in movement, in cast of drapery, and in transitions from dark to light.[4]

* [1] A very Leonardesque early work by Ridolfo is the half-length of a young man holding a piece of jewellery, in the Palazzo Pitti (No. 207). This picture was formerly ascribed to Leonardo himself, but is undoubtedly too weak for him; while, as pointed out by MORELLI (*Die Galerie zu Berlin*, p. 23), it stands very close in style to Ridolfo's Christ carrying the Cross, in the National Gallery.

[2] Now Conservatorio in Ripoli, Via della Scala at Florence.

[3] Louvre, No. 1,324. Two angels are at the side of the glory, in which Mary is crowned by the Redeemer. Below, SS. Peter Martyr, John the Baptist, Jerome, Magdalen, Francis and Dominic, all kneeling. The figures are more or less dry and bony (wood, oil), small panel with the date "MDIIII," not 1503, as stated in the catalogue.

There is something in the Coronation still reminiscent of Benedetto Ghirlandaio's St. Lucy at S. Maria Novella.

[4] These saints hang singly on the entrance wall of S. Jacopo, under the organ-loft, in painted niches. They represent SS. Sebastian, Cosmo, Damian, and a hermit with a lion and string of beads (wood, oil). [* These pictures are now in the Conservatorio La Quiete, near Florence.]



Photo, Alinari

PORTRAIT OF A YOUNG MAN ("THE GOLDSMITH")

BY RIDOLFO GHIRLANDAIO

From a picture in the Palazzo Pitti, Florence

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In a Nativity of this period at the Hermitage of St. Petersburg we follow Ridolfo in the same track as at Ripoli, yet combining peculiarities derived from the ateliers of Rosselli, Mariotto, and Baccio della Porta with those of his old friend Granacci. Granacci's name, indeed, is that under which this piece has been placed, although it exactly corresponds with Vasari's description of one in the Life of Ridolfo:[1]

"Having received an order from the monastery of Cestello for a Nativity of Christ, he took pains to surpass his rivals by extreme labour and diligence, depicting the Virgin in adoration before the Infant Christ, St. Joseph, and two figures of St. Francis and St. Jerome kneeling, and a beautiful landscape like that of the Sasso della Vernia, with a choir of angels singing above the pent-house, the whole well coloured and of fair relief."[2]

The full and weighty shape of the St. Jerome, as contrasted with the more delicate Virgin and St. Francis, and the polished surface of the fused colour, most remind us of Granacci; whilst the strong, well-harmonized tints, and vigorous chiaroscuro, and the atmosphere which pervades the groups, are all characteristic of Ghirlandaio. But it is of interest to find in a picture like this the proof that Ridolfo, as Vasari states,[3] was still in a position to accept assistance from a favourite pupil of his father.

There is another feature, meanwhile, deserving of special remark. The landscape, with its rich and pleasant vegetation, its distant edifices, its ruins, and episodes, is treated in the manner of Fra Bartolommeo and Raphael, and introduces us to the time when they become friends, and might by their interest for Ridolfo give an additional spur to his exertions.[4]

[1] Hermitage, No. 22. Wood, oil, life-size. [2] VASARI, vi. 536.

[3] "Stando col Grillandaio," says VASARI, v. 341.

[4] The picture is in oil, a little out of balance as regards composition, in consequence of the size of the St. Jerome; slightly out of keeping, from abrasion and retouching of the flesh-tints, in the St. Joseph, St. Francis, and Virgin. The piece has been transferred with success to canvas.

In the same gallery of the Hermitage we find three pieces under the name of Ridolfo Ghirlandaio. No. 29, wood, transferred to canvas, is a round of the Nativity within the pent-house, almost entirely renewed. But from what remains of the original in the Infant, the young Baptist, and two angels, as well as of the draperies and bits of unaltered colour, the hand is more likely to be that of Francia

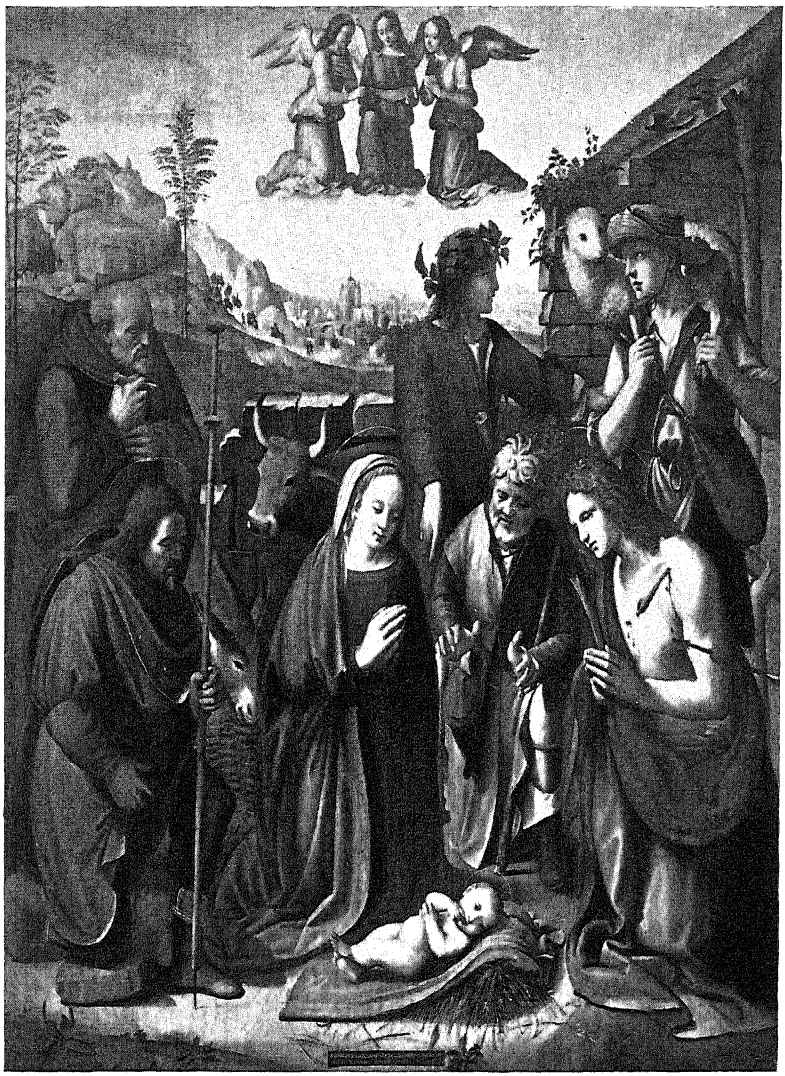
That Ridolfo's art between 1504 and 1508 entered upon this phase is notorious, and it is pleasant to trace it from this beginning to its subsequent development. The change which was then produced did not affect his idiosyncracy. He still held to his usual brown and somewhat hard enamel tones, but he became a thorough master, not merely of form as derived from Nature, but of select form in true relief of perfect modelling and outline. Whilst he felt in this sense the effects of the companionship of the Frate, he was moved by that of Raphael to a tender youthfulness of type in his impersonations, to a soft fleshiness, especially in children, and to brightness in minutely touched landscapes. Of this we have examples in a pretty Raphaelesque Nativity at the Berlin Museum,[1] and in a bolder, more brilliant, and facile specimen of the same subject in the Esterhazy collection at Pesth.[2] The severer qualities of plasticity, united to breadth of light and shade, he exhibited in a female portrait of 1509 now at the Pitti,[3] where his powers appear undoubtedly superior to those of Granacci and Piero di Cosimo; whilst in a predella at the Oratory of the Bigallo at Florence his composition and his drawing emulate the energy, grandeur, and fulness of life distinguishing the works

Bigio, or Bugiardini. No. 30: Virgin, Child, and Baptist; round, wood, transferred to canvas. No. 31: Virgin and Child; square, wood, transferred; are both by one painter, a follower of Ridolfo, either Michele di Ridolfo or Mariano da Pescia. The handling is careful, the colouring raw and there is some want of feeling in the figures. The conception is that of Raphael's carried out by the feebler hand of the men above named.

[1] Berlin, Museum, No. 91. Wood, oil, the surface of a crystalline polish like that peculiar to Granacci.

[2] A composition of eleven figures, a little reminiscent, as regards distribution, of Signorelli. The Child, on the centre of the foreground, between the spectator and the kneeling Virgin. At her side a shepherd adoring, behind whom a young pastor points out the Infant to a third carrying a kid. To the right, in front, a youthful saint is in prayer facing St. James, in similar attitude, on the left. In rear of the latter stands St. Joseph leaning on his staff. Behind is the penthouse, with the ox and ass, and in the sky is a choir of three angels. On the border one reads: "Ridolfus Grillandaius floretinus faciebat." [* The signature is on a *cartellino*, and the authors have omitted to copy the second line of it, which runs: "instante Johanne Italiano Petri MDX." The picture is now in the gallery at Budapest (No. 58).]

[3] Pitti, No. 224. Female, seen below the waist, with a vest bordered at the neck and shoulders with white. Sleeves dark green (wood, oil, about large as life. [* Dr. GRONAU (in *Rivista d'arte*, viii. 55) has shown that this picture came to Florence from Urbino with the Della Rovere inheritance in 1631, and puts forward the hypothesis that it is a portrait of Emilia Pia, a lady of the Court of Elisabetta Gonzaga.]



Photo, Hanfstaengl

THE NATIVITY

BY RIDOLFO GHIRLANDAIO

From a picture in the Budapest Gallery

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of Mariotto and the Frate, and his colour assumes a new richness and warmth.[1]

Raphael's trust in the talent of Ridolfo Ghirlandaio was so full and complete that we are told he allowed his friend to fill in a part of the drapery in the Bella Giardiniera which was to be sent to Siena,[2] and when Sanzio reached Rome in 1508 nothing pressed him more than the desire to get Ghirlandaio to join him. But Ridolfo, though still living in the house of his uncle David, was probably married, and encumbered with the cares of property and children.[3] He had a strange aversion to moving out of sight of the cupola of S. Maria del Fiore, and clung to his native place with extraordinary tenacity. He therefore refused Raphael's kindly offers, and stayed quietly at home.[4]

It was under these circumstances that, continuing to follow the path of progress into which he had entered, he completed in 1514 the ceiling of the chapel of St. Bernard in the Public Palace at Florence,[5] and the Assumption and Gift of the Girdle, now in the choir loft of the cathedral at Prato.[6]

One of the striking features of his earliest productions had been slenderness of shape in figures. When he began more assiduously to study Mariotto and Fra Bartolommeo, he fell into the habit of giving shortness and plumpness to the human frame. He now corrected even this defect, of which evidence is given in the Assumption at Prato; whilst in two first-rate representations of single saints at S. Girolamo sopra la Costa a S. Giorgio in Florence

[1] This is a predella of five panels with—(1) The Execution of St. Peter Martyr; (2) the Nativity; (3) a Virgin of Mercy; (4) the Flight into Egypt; (5) the brethren of the Bigallo carrying a wounded man (wood, oil). VASARI truly says of these little panels that they are magnificent miniatures (vi. 538).

[2] VASARI, iv. 328; vi. 534.

[3] Ridolfo says in a *Portata al Catasto* of 1511 that he resides with his wife, Contessina, in the house of David Ghirlandaio (GAYE, *Carteggio*, i. 268).

[4] VASARI, vi. 534 *sq.*

[5] This represents the Trinity in the centre with angels holding the emblems of the Passion, the heads of the twelve apostles, four evangelists, and the Annunciation. These frescoes were valued in 1514 by Lorenzo di Credi (VASARI, notes to iv. 575; and vi. 539).

[6] The Virgin ascends accompanied by cherubim, between two angels. Below, at the sides of her tomb, SS. Margaret, Lorenzo, Catherine, Thomas, Stephen, and a saint in episcopals. The figures are half the size of life, not free from retouching wood, oil). (See VASARI, vi. 539.)

he is perfect in proportional division, and at the same time bold and easy, as a thorough craftsman might be who still honours and reveres the pattern of the Frate.[1]

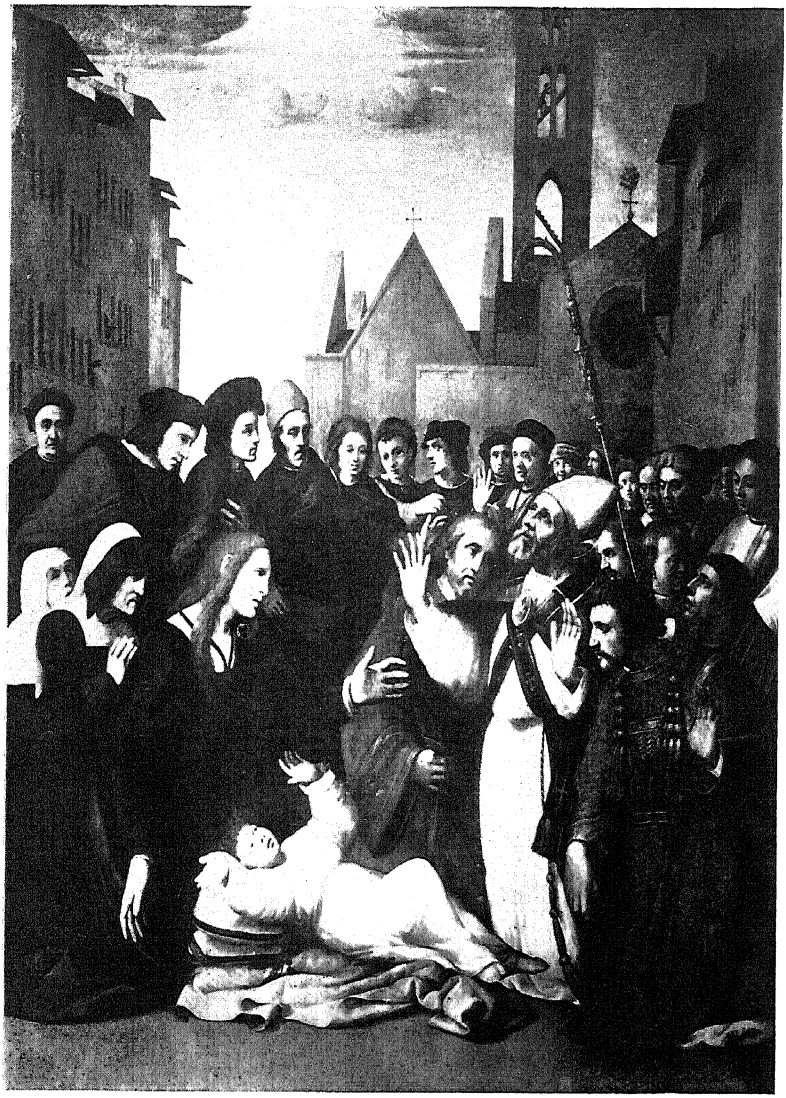
In 1510 Mariotto Albertinelli had, with incredible labour, as we have seen, furnished a Virgin and Angel Annunciate to the Compagnia di S. Zanobi which was valued by Perugino, Granacci, and Ridolfo Ghirlandaio.[2] After a time the brethren resolved to ask another to do the Miracles of St. Zanobius on two panels at the sides of the Annunciation, and they gave the commission to Ridolfo. We shall not describe the composition of the Raising of the Child—a reproduction of which will be found annexed to this page—but merely point out that in this, as in the Burial of the Saint, Ghirlandaio's skill has reached its highest expansion.[3] Extraordinary liveliness and nature stamp the movements and expression of the eager and wondering crowd which presses round the kneeling Bishop, as with uplifted arms he restores life to the fallen boy. Masterly are the drawing, modelling, and transitions of light and shade; warm, rich, and harmonious, the strong tone of colour. Grandeur, imposing by its simplicity, marks the Bishops who carry the corpse of the saint, and there is a dignity and breadth in action and drapery that almost equal those of Domenico.[4] The system of handling peculiar to Mariotto and the Frate had never as yet been so successfully applied by Ridolfo, who, having previously surpassed Granacci and Piero di Cosimo, now rivalled even Andrea del Sarto. Admirable as the latter had been in embodying the highest laws of art, unapproachable as he then was in the knowledge of fresco, he lacked something to entitle him to equal praise in the execution of easel pictures, his tones being too unsubstantial and misty to give

[1] St. Francis and St. Catherine (wood, oil, large as life), a little injured, but well drawn, and in fine, easy pose. [* These, as Dr. Giovanni Poggi kindly informs the editor, are now in the Museo di S. Marco (Refettorio grande). The female saint is, however, not Catherine, but Elizabeth of Hungary.]

[2] VASARI, iv. 224.

[3] Uffizi. No. 1,275: St. Zanobius raising the Dead Boy. No. 1,277: Translation of the remains of St. Zanobius (wood, oil). [* A sketch for this composition is in the Print Room at the Palazzo Corsini in Rome (BERENSON, 902).]

[4] Another picture, a round of the Virgin, Child, and sleeping boy Baptist (No. 1,224 at the Uffizi), has quite the stamp of Ridolfo at this time, though it has not all the beauties of the "Miracles" described in the text. The colour is sombre, the forms a little paltry. Still, this is comparative only, the conception being pretty and essentially Florentine. [* *Cf. antea*, p. 122, n. 3.]



Photo, Alinari

ST. ZANOBIUS RAISING A DEAD BOY

BY RIDOLFO GHIRLANDAIO

From a picture in the Uffizi, Florence

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unexceptional satisfaction. Ridolfo, as a Florentine and an oil painter, now stood at the head of his class, in a position exactly contrasted with that of his father Domenico, who had achieved fame by the production of unrivalled mural decorations. Nor was this a fleeting interval in his career. The same nobleness is to be found in the Madonna and saints of S. Pier Maggiore at Pistoia as in the Miracles of St. Zanobius, with an additional touch of Raphaelesque grace,[1] and Ridolfo deserved, as, indeed, he obtained, all the encouragement of his countrymen. He had inherited from his father a principle which had been held by many great men before—that an artist, if he kept a shop, should attend to every order that was brought to him, however small it might be. He never grumbled for that reason when asked to make pennons, standards, or banners, or to colour crosses, curtains, or processional properties.[2] He preserved by this means the facility required for carrying out vast scenic canvases, of which the Florentines were profuse during the first half of the sixteenth century. The earliest of these with which he was connected were made for the wedding of Giuliano de' Medici.[3] But the most magnificent were undertaken for the solemn entry of Leo X. into Florence in November, 1515.[4] On that occasion the Republic and the Medici[5] vied with each other in the sumptuous character of their preparations. Triumphal arches in the principal streets of the city were raised, and painted by Baccio d'Agnolo, Jacopo di Sandro, Baccio da Montelupo, Giuliano del Tasso, Granacci, Aristotile da S. Gallo, and Rosso. Mimic temples, obelisks, pillars, and statues like those of Rome, were got up by the ingenuity of Baccio Bandinelli, Antonio da S. Gallo, and others. Andrea del Sarto and Jacopo Sansovino restored for a day the front of S. Maria del Fiore. Masquerades and triumphs were

[1] The Virgin sits in a semicircle of saints, the nearest of whom to the spectator are St. Sebastian and St. Gregory on both sides of the foreground, the rest being St. Anthony, two female saints, and St. James. The figures are life-size (wood. oil). The panel scaled here and there, and the colour opaque in certain places from retouching. This work is noticed in VASARI, vi. 536.

[2] There are records of payments for various matters of this kind in the archives of S. Maria del Fiore in 1518–19. See note to VASARI, vi. 542; vii. 494.

[3] VASARI, vi. 541 *sq.*

[4] *Ib.*, iv. 541; v. 24, 158; 340 *sq.*, 350; vi. 255, 436, 154.

[5] "La Signoria e Giuliano de' Medici" (VASARI, vii. 494).

imitated from those of heathen times. The guilds, as they followed the procession of Leo, were all gaily dressed in new costumes, and waved flaunting banners or flags on models invented by Ridolfo and his journeyman Granacci. Ghirlandaio himself adorned, with the help of his apprentices, the Papal residence at S. Maria Novella and the Palace of the Medici, and produced with Granacci the scenes for the comedies that were given in the evening.

From festive days like these to mournful ones, which also required the aid of artists, there was but a step; and Ridolfo arranged the funeral of Giuliano de' Medici, who died in retirement at the Abbey of Fiesole in March, 1516.[1]

From grave to gay again. In 1518 Lorenzo de' Medici, Duke of Urbino, held grand court on the day of his wedding at Florence, the *apparato* and plays being prepared under the joint superintendence of Ridolfo and Francia Bigio, with the assistance of Aristotile da S. Gallo and Andrea di Cosimo.[2] Equal pomp, but of a doleful kind, at Lorenzo's death in 1519, when Ridolfo is more in request than ever.[3]

The Medici were grateful to him for his success and punctuality on so many of these occasions of joy or grief. They gave him special marks of honour as a citizen of Florence, and he was made "painter" of the Opera of S. Maria del Fiore.[4]

The property which he had inherited from his father increased, in spite of the heavy charges that weighed upon him in the shape of fifteen children; and he was able to number, in his returns to the "castato," a continual increase in his possessions of land.[5] In the midst of prosperity he remained consistently honest and conscientious in the pursuit of his art, and in spite of the numerous works which he had carried through he showed no signs of relinquishing any of the diligence that had been so conspicuous in his first manhood. Of this we have a convincing proof in a Pietà of 1521 at S. Agostino of Colle di Valdelsa, where the Saviour, supported by the Virgin and Baptist, mourned by the Magdalen, and adored by SS. Jerome and Nicholas, discloses his talent in

[1] "La Signoria e Giuliano de' Medici" (VASARI, vi. 542).
[2] *Ib.*, v. 195; vi. 452, 541.
[3] *Ib.*, vi. 452.
[4] We find him in this capacity in records of 1519. See annot. VASARI, vi. 542.
[5] GAYE, *Carteggio*, i. 268. The last "Portata" is of 1534.

the same path as of old. Composition in the fashion of the Frate and Mariotto, refined forms, noble nude, and true harmony of keys, exhibit the unaltered perfection of his style; and the sole difference that one perceives is in the comparative lightness of tones, which have lost some of the old richness and fulness.[1]

With greater *bravura*, but in the same system, he furnished the dexterously handled Assumption of the Compagnia de' Battilani at Florence, now in the Berlin Museum, in which the only fault that can be found is slight emptiness of colour;[2] and we begin to perceive that Ridolfo is thinking of his ease, and puts his confidence in the aid of his disciple Michele. We then enter fully upon a period in which the vigour of the man seems on the wane, producing the flat and unrelieved St. Jerome Penitent,[3] and the loosely executed Annunciation at S. Girolamo,[4] closing, as it were, with the Last Supper of 1543 in the refectory of the Angeli at Florence, in which del Sarto's Cenacolo at S. Salvi is copied with unnecessary fidelity.[5]

In this long interval, however, many incidents of interest are worthy of notice. We find Ridolfo in 1520 valuing with Bugiardini an altarpiece by Jacopo del Sellaio,[6] and in 1524 appraising frescoes by Guglielmo di Marcilla.[7] In 1525 David Ghirlandaio

[1] Wood, oil, figures life-size. In a predella are the arms of Mario di Niccolò Beltramini, for whom the picture was ordered (VASARI, annot., vi. 545, and the following subjects: (1) St. Nicholas visiting the three youths in prison; (2) the decapitation of John the Baptist; (3) the Resurrection; (4) St. Jerome in the desert; (5) the Communion of the Magdalen.

[2] Berlin, Museum, No. 263, with a portrait of Ridolfo which was taken by Vasari for his Lives (see also VASARI, vi. 540 *sq.*). The date of this piece may be fixed just before 1527. After the siege of Florence in that year, Ridolfo repainted the lower part that had been spoilt. In truth the lower apostles are treated more frankly than the glory, the latter being nearer in style to the Frate, the former to Sanzio. The portrait is the head of the saint next to St. John the Baptist.

[3] Altar to the left. The colour is flat and yellowish, the surface polished. In the distance to the left, St. Francis receives the stigmata. To the right, the angel leads Tobit. The panel has been scaled in part. [* Now in the Museo di San Marco at Florence (Refettorio piccolo, No. 3).]

[4] Altar to the right. The surface has Bronzino's enamel (VASARI, vi. 539). [* Now in the Museo di San Marco (No. 4).]

[5] This fresco is rapidly losing colour from damp. The St. Bartholomew especially is much injured, as indeed is the whole upper part.

[6] MS. records, but see *antea*, in Bugiardini and Jacopo del Sellaio.

[7] VASARI, iv. 426.

dies in the arms of his nephew, and surrounded by Ridolfo's children.[1] In 1536 the entrance of the Emperor Charles V. into Florence gives rise to a display equalling, if not surpassing, that of 1515, in which Ridolfo erects and adorns with great splendour, in company of Michele di Ridolfo, a triumphal arch at the Canto alla Cuculia.[2]

Similar rejoicings take place at the marriage of Cosimo de' Medici with Leonora da Toledo in 1539, and at the christening of his son Francesco in 1541;[3] and Ridolfo is constantly busy for the Grand Duke of Florence in his palace. In the meantime his children are well educated, and enter into business as merchants in France and at Ferrara. Ridolfo, without giving up his profession, becomes almost a sleeping partner in his own business, suffers from the gout, but lives on for a while, rolled about in an easy-chair. At last he is taken from the world on January 6, 1561, outliving most of his contemporaries except the immortal Michael Angelo.[4]

Of the altarpieces which may be said to have been jointly done by Ridolfo and his disciple Michele di Ridolfo, we make the following list:

Florence. S. Felice in Piazza. Virgin, Child, and SS. Bartholomew, Sebastian, Peter, and another, with the Eternal amongst angels in benediction (wood, oil, figures life-size); injured by restoring. There is some affectation in the Madonna. The enamel surface is like Bronzino's (this is not the "tavola" mentioned by VASARI, vi. 543 *sq.*).

Florence. S. Spirito. Originally in the Capella de' Segni, now in the left transept (VASARI, vi. 544). Virgin and Child, behind whom is St. Anna. At the sides four standing saints, and SS. Mary Magdalen and Catherine kneeling (wood, oil, much damaged). *Same as above.* Virgin and Child between SS. Bartholomew and Benedict erect, Giovanni Gualberto and another kneeling (wood, oil, life-size). Christ carrying his Cross. The first is a soft and rather feeble production, reminiscent of the Raphaelesque in the Virgin and Child, of a mild,

[1] VASARI, vi. 537.

[2] VASARI, vi. 545; and Vasari to Aretino, May, 1536, in BOTTARI, *Raccolta*, iii. 43 and following.

[3] VASARI, vi. 86 *sq.*, 576; vii. 596.

[4] VASARI, vi. 547; and *Libro de' Morti*, in *Tav. alf., u.s.* The exact date of his death is January 6, 1561. He was buried in S. Maria Novella.

rosy tone, with a touch of Credi, from whose school Michele came. The second is a sort of replica of the altarpiece at the Palazzo Antinori.

Florence. Academy of Arts, No. 182. Virgin and Child between the kneeling SS. Francis and Chiara, the standing James and Lawrence. Wood, oil.[1] *Same Gallery, No.* 69. Marriage of St. Catherine. The first was once in SS. Jacopo e Francesco (VASARI, vi. 544), the second in S. Catarina at Florence. These are also weak and of a rosy tone. *Same Gallery, No.* 184. Martyrdom of the companions of St. Ursula. Doubtful.[2]

Florence. Pitti, No. 180. Holy Family, better than the foregoing, and apparently done by Ridolfo, with little or no help from Michele.

Florence. S. Marco, sacristy. Annunciation, in the same style as the pictures at the Academy (but see *antea*, Fra Bartolommeo, p. 53).

Florence. Galleria Torrigiani. Of the same class and character as the foregoing is a fine copy of a Virgin and Child by Raphael, now No. 38 in the Bridgewater Gallery in London.

Florence. S. Jacopo di Ripoli. Two pieces here have been already noticed. A third, of a different period,[3] may be added to them. It represents the Marriage of St. Catherine (VASARI, vi. 535), the Virgin and Child recalling Sanzio, and takes a place in the series here classified on account of the gentleness of the types, the light rosy tints, and slight shadows.

Florence. S. Martino delle Monache.[4] Virgin and Child, on clouds. Below, St. Sebastian and another saint. Two angels fly above the head of the Madonna. Distance, landscape (wood, oil, figures large as life). Similar to the last mentioned.[5]

*1 Now officially ascribed to Francesco Brina, and stated to have been ordered by Monsignor Bonafede, Abate di Certosa.

*2 From the church of S. Pancrazio at Florence.

*3 Now also in the Conservatorio La Quiete, near Florence

*4 This church is now attached to the Casa di patronato pei minorenni (73, Via della Scala).

5 The following have been either not seen by the authors, or fail altogether. Not seen: *Ripoli.* Virgin and saints (VASARI, vi. 544). *Florence. Ognissanti.* Virgin, Baptist and S. Romualdo (VASARI, vi. 539). *Florence. Chiesa della Concezione, via de' Servi.* Meeting of St. Anna and Joachim, now in Casa Passerini (VASARI and annot., vi. 540). *Florence (near). Giogoli. Pieve.* Tabernacle: Virgin, Child, and angels (VASARI, vi. 541). *Florence (near). Certosa de' Camaldoli.* Tabernacle frescoes (VASARI, vi. 541). *Monte S. Savino. Madonna de' Vertigli.* Monochromes, scenes from the life of St. Joseph, altarpiece, and fresco of the Visitation (VASARI, vi. 545, 577 *sq.*). Gone: *Florence. Cestello* or *S. Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi.* Nativity (VASARI, vi. 536). [**Cf. antea*, p. 143.] *Florence. SS. Annunziata de' Servi.* St. Michael Archangel, copied from Fra Bartolommeo in the

Prato. S. Rocco (seen in 1857). Once in possession of Signor Giov. Gagliardi of Florence. Virgin, Child, St. Sebastian and St. Roch (VASARI, vi. 544).

Florence. Gates of S. Gallo, al Prato and alla Croce. There are remnants, in the first, of a Virgin and Child between SS. John Baptist and Cosmo; in the second, of a Madonna, with the same saints; in the third, of the Virgin and Child, between SS. John the Baptist and Ambrose (VASARI, vi. 547).

Venice. Academy, No. 55. Virgin and Child between two angels with lilies, SS. Peter Martyr and Lucy (much repainted, the angel at the side of St. Peter renewed as to the head); a work more like Mainardi than Ridolfo.

Rome. Galleria Borghese, No. 399. Portrait of a man, three-quarters, to the left, in long hair and cap, assigned to Raphael,[1] injured by restoring, and in the manner of Ridolfo. Engraved in PASSAVANT'S *Raphael*, iii.

Hampton Court, No. 1,084. Portrait of a man, in very bad condition, but recalling Ridolfo.[2]

Of Ridolfo's pupils, we shall at present only mention Mariano da Pescia, whose pictures may be taken in the following order:

Florence. Uffizi, No. 44. Virgin, Child, and St. Elizabeth presenting the infant Baptist. Though VASARI says that Mariano was Ridolfo's pupil, the picture here cited by him (vi. 542) in no wise reminds us of that master. The composition is fair, but the forms are swollen and

cemetery of S. Maria Nuova (*ib., ib.*, 542). *Florence. S. Felicita.* Two chapels in fresco visible in RICHA'S time (*Chiese*, ix. 303, 308; and VASARI, vi. 544). *Florence. Compagnia de' Neri.* Martyrdom of the Baptist (VASARI, vi. 544). *Florence. Borgo S. Friano alle Monachine.* Annunciation (*ib., ib.*, 544). *Florence. S. Martino alla Palma.* Tavola (*ib., ib.*, 545). *Città di Castello. S. Fiordo.* St. Anna (*ib., ib., ib.*). The three feats of Hercules, sent to France (*ib., ib.*, 540).

*[1] Now to the school of Perugino.

*[2] In addition to the extant pictures by Ridolfo Ghirlandaio which have already been noticed, the following may be enumerated:

Florence. Academy, No. 83. Three angels. *No.* 87. Three angels (both panels from the Monastery of S. Baldassare at Maiano). *Palazzo Corsini, No.* 129. Male portrait. *Palazzo Torrigiani.* Portrait of the Notary Ardinghelli.

London. National Gallery, No. 2,491. Portrait of Girolamo Benivieni (from the Torrigiani collection, Florence). *Late collection of Sir W. N. Abdy.* The Virgin and Child with St. John (sold at Christie's, May 5, 1911, No. 106).

New York. Messrs. Ehrich. Portrait of a lady (see PERKINS, in *Rassegna d' arte*, x. 100, with reproduction).

Prato. Communal Gallery, No. 10. Portrait of Baldo Magini.

Wantage. Lockinge House. Lady Wantage. Portrait of a young man.

the tone bricky. The art revealed is lifeless. In the same character we have a number of others.

Florence. Casa Torrigiani. Virgin, Child, youthful Baptist, and St. Joseph. Wood, oil, enamel surface.

Florence. Marchese Pianciatichi, No. 12. Virgin and Child (but see *antea*, Fra Bartolommeo, p. 92).

Brussels. Museum, No. 638. Holy Family (see *antea*, Sogliani).

Montpellier. Musée Fabre, No. 753. Portrait of Petrarch (?), assigned to Ridolfo,[1] but more modern.

In Francesco d' Andrea di Marco Granacci, who preserved through life an intimate connection with the family of the Ghirlandai, we see how happily a man of respectable attainments can reach a haven of comfort in his old age, when his ambition does not exceed his skill, and when he shows in daily intercourse a kindly and cheerful disposition. Granacci seems to have possessed in a supreme degree the art of being companionable. He was quick at discerning talents surpassing his own, and before these he took off his hat, acknowledging with surprising modesty the superiority even of those who were by many years his juniors. Hence the friendship which united him with Michael Angelo, and his willingness at a later period to act as the assistant of Ridolfo Ghirlandaio. Hence his inability to fill any of the high places reserved for the great men of his age. He was born in 1469,[2] and bred in the atelier of Domenico and David Ghirlandaio.[3] In the Brancacci Chapel, where he studied like most candidates for pictorial fame, he sat to Filippino Lippi, who took his portrait in the Resurrection of the King's Son.[4] His youth was thus spent in the company of the best masters of the fifteenth century, and in the shop where he served he was held to be the most promising of draughtsmen.[5] As Michael Angelo began his time with Domenico Ghirlandaio in 1488, Granacci at once observed the lad's precocious nature, and furnished him abundantly with drawings, and thus laid the foundation of a lasting intimacy.[6] It was about

*[1] Now no longer so.

[2] The *portata al Catasto* of Granacci's mother, dated 1480 (GAYE, *Carteggio*, note to vol. ii., p. 468), states that at that time Francesco was eleven years old.

[3] VASARI, ii. 277; v. 340; vi. 532.

[4] *Ib.*, ii. 299; iii. 462.

[5] *Ib.*, v. 340.

[6] *Ib.*, vii. 137 *sq.*

this period that Lorenzo de' Medici, having placed his collection under the charge of Bertoldo, had determined to try if it were not possible to bring up some boys as sculptors, in view of restoring to that branch the importance it had lost in consequence of the great pre-eminence acquired by professors of painting.[1] Domenico Ghirlandaio, having been consulted upon this subject, entrusted Granacci and Michael Angelo (1489) to Lorenzo as the most likely scholars, and thus the companionship which had begun under favourable circumstances seemed destined to a happy continuance. Michael Angelo soon did justice to the choice of Ghirlandaio, and during his rapid progress repaid the kindness of Granacci by presents of designs and by advice.[2] But Granacci did not for his part take to sculpture, and Lorenzo was only enabled to use him as a draughtsman and decorator in the jousts and triumphs with which he kept the Florentines in good humour at carnival time. In these, however, according to the testimony of Vasari, Granacci was admitted to have been highly successful, and here also Domenico Ghirlandaio approved himself a competent judge of the ability of his pupil.[3]

If it ever happened to Granacci to take an extensive share in any of the numerous undertakings in Domenico's atelier, we should say he may have been principally occupied in the production of a Madonna amongst saints in the collection of the late Mr. Barker in London,[4] or a Coronation of the Virgin in Santa Cecilia at Città di Castello.[5] In Ghirlandaio's great frescoes at S. Trinità, or S. Maria Novella, his help was of too general a character to be perceptible. But he took part in the altarpieces finished by Benedetto and David after 1494, and two figures of saints—St. Anthony, in which his co-operation is proved by Vasari,[6] or

[1] VASARI, iv. 258; vii. 141 *sq.*

[2] *Ib.*, v. 339 *sq.*

[3] *Ib.*, v. 340; vi. 436.

[4] See *antea*, iv. 338.

[5] See *antea*, v. 27. The Virgin kneels to the right, before Christ, in a circular glory of cherubs' heads, outside of which eight angels play musical instruments. Below, on clouds, are SS. Francis, Bernardino, and Buonaventura erect (left), Louis, another, and Anthony erect (right). In the centre, kneeling, SS. Rosa, Mary Magdalen, Catherine, and Chiara. This altarpiece is called a Piero della Francesca, but the figures are slenderer than his, and the tempera has the reddish flesh-tints of Granacci. [* As already stated, this picture is now in the Communal Gallery at Città di Castello (No. 78).]

[6] VASARI, vi. 532.

St. Vincent, upon which, though finer, the Aretine is silent—disclose a notable superiority over the brothers of Domenico Ghirlandaio—an approximation, indeed, to the latter in form, proportions, outline, and drapery.[1]

We might believe, in consideration of two very clear-toned and slightly relieved, but much finished, bust-likenesses of a male and female in the museum of Berlin and in the gallery of Oxford, that Granacci was frequently engaged in his youth as a portrait painter.[2] His tendency from the beginning to imitate the Michael-angelesque might be illustrated in a tempera of the Virgin, Child, and saints at Berlin.[3]

Another early contribution to the collection of his works is to be found in the kneeling St. Jerome and St. Francis, part of an Adoration of the Virgin, in the Berlin Museum. The St. Jerome especially denotes a masculine and vigorous complexion in the artist, without the feeling which avoids reproducing the vulgarity or Herculean nature of a model. For the same reason the anatomy is correct, whilst the drapery is involved and bundled into heaps. Unlike the rest of the picture, the two saints are in oil, of a hard, even brown-red, impasto, with dull shadows sharply contrasting with the lights, yet of insufficient relief. They are freely handled in the imperfect system common to Rosselli and Piero di Cosimo. The art is that apparent in the Madonna and saints at S. Pietro al Terreno, with the difference that the figures at Berlin are

[1] These remarks apply more particularly to the St. Vincent; a tempera which is numbered No. 74 in the Berlin Museum, the St. Anthony being No. 76 in the same gallery, and in oil.

[2] Berlin Museum, No. 80. Female, three-quarters, to the left, tempera, with the words "Noli me tangere" on the parapet of the opening at which the bust is visible. The school of Domenico Ghirlandaio and Mainardi is here plainly revealed; and the execution is not unlike that of a profile (No. 81, Berlin) attributed to Sandro Botticelli. [* The editor is inclined to think, with Dr. MACKOWSKI (*Verrocchio*, Bielefeld and Leipzig, 1901, p. 86 *sq*), that this is a work by Lorenzo di Credi).]

Oxford Gallery, No. 22. Male, full face, almost life-size, ascribed to Masaccio (tempera, almost life-size). Same character as the foregoing. [* Now officially ascribed to the Florentine school only.]

[3] Berlin, Museum, No. 97. We have here the style of Ghirlandaio dwarfed, but something modern in the marked character of the action and poses. The execution is careful (wood). [* This picture is now on loan to the Communal Gallery at Halle.]

carried out in a more facile and manly spirit, and have a muscular appearance akin to that with which we are familiar in Michael Angelo.[1]

Granacci, therefore, appears to us at the close of the century as a man who had already surrendered much that he might have learnt in the atelier of Domenico Ghirlandaio in order to adopt the energetic hardihood of his friend Buonarroti.

That he should seek at the same time to acquire the technical improvements taken by Piero di Cosimo from Leonardo and still more ably applied by Mariotto and Fra Bartolommeo was probably owing to the fact that Michael Angelo could not assist him in this respect as he did in the rendering of form.

For a considerable interval Granacci preserved this duplicate tendency. Without making any progress in the mode of imparting relief by light and shade—now and then giving short proportions to the human frame, as in the four saints of the Munich Pinakothek,[2] occasionally long and slender ones, as in the six predella scenes from the life of St. Apollonia in the Academy of Arts at Florence [3]—he made himself known by freedom of movement and by a decisive and broad sweep of touch allied to great finish and fusion. His colour no longer had its previous monotony of brown-redness nor dulness of shadow, but a transparent gloss due to copious vehicle, and a gaudy lightness producing the effect of emptiness. *Bravura* in carrying out a strong accent upon action in torso and limb, are the characteristics of a Trinity very fairly assigned to Granacci, at the Berlin Museum, and doubtless of this time.[4]

But the most favourable specimen of his manner under these

[1] Berlin, Museum, No. 88. See *antea*, vol. iv., 336.

[2] Munich, Pinakothek, No. 1,063, St. Jerome; No. 1,062, St. Apollonia; No. 1,064, St. John the Baptist; No. 1,061, St. Mary Magdalen. These figures, all in niches, (wood, oil, all but life-size), are fair and well draped, but somewhat muscular and coarse. Are they a part of the panel in S. Apollonia of Florence mentioned in VASARI, v. 344 ?

[3] Florence, Academy of Arts, Nos. 285–290. The tall and slender figures are in lively motion, broadly treated, and Michaelangelesque in the brave mode of Rosso.

[4] Berlin, Museum, No. 229. Round, wood, oil; (?) that noticed by VASARI, as furnished to Pier Francesco Borgherini (v. 342 *sq.*). This round is almost a repetition of the same subject by Mariotto in the Academy of Arts at Florence.



Photo, Arundel Club

THE ASSUMPTION OF THE VIRGIN

BY FRANCESCO GRANACCI

From a picture in the collection of Mr. H. C. Somers Somerset, The Priory, Reigate.

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conditions is the Assumption and gift of the girdle in the Casa Rucellai at Florence.[1] There is soft gravity in the deportment of the saints conversing by the tomb; and the drapery is grand in the breadth of its cast. Two angels supporting the glory of flaming rays almost embody the grace of Filippino. But the muscular type and energetically forced motion of the St. Thomas rising from his knees to take the girdle handed down to him by the Virgin, as well as the enamelled surface of the panel and its minute laboriousness, are derived from Michael Angelo, in emulation, perhaps, of the Madonna at the Uffizi, which seems to date from the first years of the sixteenth century.[2]

Whilst Granacci thus faithfully followed his great and now celebrated guide, forgetting, as he proceeded, the atelier out of which he had originally sprung, there was one quality which he could not reach, and that was the quality of relief, in which he was far surpassed by Ridolfo. His method of dealing with colours was in so far different from that which Leonardo perfected that he always sought transparence from the white ground. He tried to get light in the greatest fulness, even to the sacrifice of shadow, which, when properly used, is a set-off to light.

Granacci's devotion to Michael Angelo lasted long. He was, no doubt, one of the firmest supporters of his friend's opinion when, in 1503, he was asked, with many others, to choose the place for the gigantic David.[3] Though he was affiliated to his guild in 1505,[4] he did not disdain to join Ridolfo, del Sarto, and the host of their companions, as they copied the rival cartoons in the Papal Hall.[5] Yet he could not remain an

[1] Originally in S. Piero Maggiore (VASARI, v. 343). The picture is on wood, in oil, and the figures are large as life. The saints below, in addition to St. Thomas, are SS. John, James, Lawrence, and Paul. [* This picture now belongs to Mr. H. C. Somers Somerset, of the Priory, Reigate.]

[2] The Madonna by Michael Angelo, in the Uffizi (No. 1,139).

[3] GAYE, *Carteggio*, ii. 455, 456.

[4] The annotators of VASARI (v. 345) say his name is in the books of the guild in 1504–05. The date of his receipt of the freedom is illegible in the register of the guild (GUALANDI, *Mem.*, ser. vi., p. 182).

[5] VASARI, vii. 161. He belonged to the club of the Cazzuola, of which we shall speak.

inattentive spectator of the coming of Raphael, and there are pictures, like the Holy Family in the Casa Rucellai,[1] in which we already notice a prettiness and elegance that can only have been suggested by careful examination of the works of Sanzio.

This tendency to fall off from his old allegiance may have been hastened by an incident which could not but cool the relations between Granacci and Michael Angelo. In 1508 it was proposed that the vaulting of the Sixtine Chapel should be decorated with frescoes, and Buonarroti, upon whom this duty devolved, sent to Florence for assistants, amongst whom Bugiardini and Granacci were the most prominent. Upon trial, even these were found very far from the mark by their fastidious employer, who, instead of dismissing, locked the door of the chapel, as well as of his own house, against them.[2] It was natural that Granacci, after this rebuff, should feel very greatly angered, and rather inclined to forget than to remember the lessons of a man to whom he owed much indeed, but who had treated him too rudely.

Certain it is that the influence of Raphael now gained the ascendant with Granacci, and there are two very fine Virgins in Glory at the Uffizi and Academy of Arts in Florence, as well as some Holy Families, which fully bear out this statement.

In the Virgin in Glory at the Uffizi, two angels at the sides of the glory are Raphaelesque rather than purely Florentine. The Virgin's own face is of a gentle softness, which certainly had not its origin in Buonarroti; whilst the St. Thomas, to whom she hands the girdle, and the Archangel Michael below, are more in the Herculean mould.[3] The same contrasts are to be seen at the Academy, where the Virgin looks down from heaven at four kneeling saints;[4] and a Holy Family at the Pitti, though a little

* [1] The present whereabouts of this picture is not known to the editor.

[2] VASARI, vii. 175.

[3] Uffizi, No. 1,280. The Virgin and Child between two angels, in a glory of flaming rays, gives the girdle to St. Thomas, who kneels below with the Archangel Michael near him. Figures life-size, the archangel grand, but of Herculean stature.

[4] Florence, Academy of Arts, No. 68 (from Spirito Santo sulla Costa). The Virgin in prayer, in clouds surrounded by a flaming glory and four angels. Below,

low in tone, and reminiscent of Puligo, still seems to have been composed by Granacci in the same mood.[1]

Elsewhere we trace in Granacci a bias in the direction of Fra Bartolommeo, as in two ovals representing St. Anthony and an Angel in the University Gallery at Oxford;[2] and the same aspect of his talent is divulged in an Assumption belonging to the Earl of Warwick, considered hitherto by many as a masterpiece of Raphael and the Frate.[3]

We believe that Granacci surrendered himself to scene painting chiefly when he joined the atelier of Ridolfo Ghirlandaio, after his return from Rome and his quarrel with Michael Angelo. As Ridolfo's partner, probably, he assisted in valuing Mariotto's Annunciation in 1510,[4] and in the same subordinate position he painted standards, theatrical hangings, and one of the triumphal arches at Florence, in 1516, at the solemn entrance of Leo X.[5] He also furnished cartoons for glass to the Brotherhood of the Gesuati.[6] But he lived for many years after that, making a will in 1533,[7] and died on December 2, 1543,[8] without our being able

the kneeling SS. Catherine, Bernard, the Cardinal Giovanni Gualberto, and George. This picture is gaudy, owing to abrasion and restoring. Wood, oil, figures life-size. Distance, a landscape.

[1] Pitti, No. 199. Round, wood, oil. The Virgin caresses the Child, who holds a book and turns towards the young Baptist, holding the cross. The colour is very smoothly enamelled, with rubbed glazes in the shadows, and rather cloudy at the outlines.

In the same manner we have a round of the Virgin and Child, with two adoring angels, belonging to Mr. Fuller Maitland, and a Holy Family, belonging to G. E. H. Vernon, Esq., feebler, though still in Granacci's style. [* The editor has been unable to trace these two pictures.]

[2] Small panels. The colour in part fallen out, and more dropping. [* A little picture of St. Francis, by Granacci, in Christ Church Library, Oxford, evidently formed part of the same altarpiece as these panels.]

[3] This panel, No. 91 at Manchester. is mentioned by Geheimerrath WAAGEN (*Treasures*, iv. 499) and by PASSAVANT (*Raphael*, i. 130, and ii. 414). The Virgin looks down from a glory of flaming rays. At the side of her tomb kneel SS. Thomas and Francis, at whose flanks stand St. Paul and another. We can see, in this picture, nothing of the Frate or of Raphael, but we perceive that it is the work of a Florentine under the inspiration of both those masters. The technical handling is like that of Ridolfo Ghirlandaio and Granacci, the composition essentially that of the latter.

[4] VASARI, iv. 224.

[5] VASARI, v. 24, 340 *sqq.*

[6] VASARI. v. 344.

[7] GAYE, *Carteggio*, ii. 468.

[8] *Tav. alfab. ad lit.* He was buried in S. Ambrogio at Florence.

to ascertain whether he was entrusted in the interval with any great or independent commissions.[1]

[1] Amongst the missing works of Granacci we note scenes from the life of Joseph mentioned by VASARI (v. 342 *sq.*). [* Two, at any rate, of these seem to be preserved; *cf. postea.*] We have not seen the Virgin and two children, SS. Zanobius, and Francis, once in S. Gallo (VASARI, v. 343 *sq.*), and said to belong to the brothers Govoni at Florence (annot., *ib.*, *ib.*, *ib.*). [* This picture, which was executed in 1515 (see MORELLI, *Die Galerien Borghese und Doria Panfili*, p. 127), is now lent to the Uffizi (No. 1,541) by the Duchessa Maria Covoni-Borghese.

The following pictures should be added to the list of extant works by Granacci:

Budapest. Gallery, No. 54. St. John the Evangelist.

Florence. Uffizi, Nos. 1,249, 1,282. Two scenes from the life of Joseph (probably identical with those seen by VASARI in the house of Pierfrancesco Borgherini; *cf. antea*, and BERENSON, *The Drawings of the Florentine Painters*, i. 123).

Florence. Palazzo Pitti, No. 345. The Holy Family (*cf. antea*, p. 28, n. 2).

Milan. Late Crespi collection. The Entry of Charles VIII. into Florence (see A. VENTURI, *La Galleria Crespi*, Milan, 1900, p. 205 *sqq.*, with reproduction).

Rome. Borghese Gallery, No. 371. Portrait of Maddalena Strozzi-Doni as St. Catherine (see MORELLI, *u.s.*, 147 *sq.*).]

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CHAPTER VII

ANDREA DEL SARTO

THOUGH Andrea del Sarto was but the son of a tailor, his pedigree has been traced with ease into the fourteenth century. His great-grandfather, Luca di Paolo del Migliore, was an agricultural labourer, his grandfather a linen-weaver. Agnolo, the tailor, was twenty-seven years old when his wife, Costanza, gave birth (1487) to Andrea del Sarto. Their usual place of abode was Gualfonda until 1504, when they lived in the Popolo di S. Paolo;[1] but previous to the latter date the future painter

[1] *Root of the Family of A. del Sarto.*

Luca di Paolo di Migliore, b. 1392, labourer; m. Agnola, b. 1402; begets	Piero, b. 1425. Antonio, b. 1427. Francesco, b. 1430, weaver; m. Genevra, b. 1441. Maria, b. 1442. Antonia, b. 1445.
Francesco, begets	Agnolo, tailor, b. 1460; m. Constanza, b. 1468. Andrea, priest, b. 1461. Giovanna, b. 1463. Domenica, b. 1466. Agnoletta, b. 1469.
Agnolo, begets	Lucretia, b. 1485. ANDREA, PAINTER, b. 1487, d. 1531. (VASARI, in error [v. 6], dates his birth, 1478). Veronica, b. 1492. Francesca, b. 1495. Domenico. —

Amongst the ancestors of Andrea del Sarto, Luca lived in S. Maria a Buiano (*Catast.* 1427, *Port. d. Contado Quart. S. Giovi, Popolo S. Maria a Buiano, Piviere i Fiesole*). Luca is then thirty-five years of age. He afterwards went to S. Ilario

had been apprenticed, and almost before it was possible that he could read (1494) he was introduced to the shop of a goldsmith.[1]

A declared aversion to cold chisels and files was the first sign that the boy gave of his unfitness for the business he was bound to. But he showed no such disinclination for the models from which the journeymen of his master were made to work. His childish cleverness in drawing from them was watched with interest, if not by the goldsmith, at least by his neighbour, Gian Barile; and the result was the transfer of Andrea from the one to the other.

Whatever might have been the chagrin of Agnolo that his son should be withdrawn from a great guild to be entered into a lesser one, he was obliged to yield to circumstances, and Gian Barile kept Andrea till about 1498.

There is no telling how del Sarto would have turned out had the connection lasted longer. Gian Barile was a man of contemptible talents and coarse manners,[2] to whom his pupil may have been indebted for much that was slipshod and common in his ways; but if he had faults, want of sympathy and generosity was not one of them, and this he proved by recommending the youth as a draughtsman and a colourist to Piero di Cosimo. Upon trial, this eccentric artist fully approved of Barile's judgment. He kept del Sarto for years, allowing him spare hours for outside study,[3] especially at the cartoons of Michael Angelo and Leonardo,

a Montereggi (*Catast.* 1455, *Port. d. Contado Q. S. G. P. d. Fiesole, Popolo di S. Ilario a Montereggi, Potesterie di Sesto*).

Francesco came to reside near Florence. Piviere di S. Giovanni of Florence (*Catast. d. Contado*, 1471, *Quart. S. M. Novella Piv. S. Giov.? Pop. S. Lorenzo di Dentro da S. Gallo, Potesteria di Firenze*). Francesco, who makes the return, is forty years old.

Agnolo in 1487 lived in Gualfonda, and in 1504 in Popolo S. Paolo of Florence (*Catast. d. Contado*, 1487, *Quart. di S. M. Novella, Piv. d. S. Giov. Firenze, Pop. S. M. Novella dentro*). Agnolo, who makes the return, is thirty, and says his son Andrea is one year old.

It is clear that the family name of Vannucchi never had any foundation in fact. But see also *Tav. alfab. ad lit.* (Favoured by Gaetano Milanesi.)

[1] VASARI (v. 7) says Andrea was bound to a goldsmith when seven years old.

[2] VASARI, v. 7. He must not be confounded with Giovanni Barili of Siena, for notices of whom see com. in VASARI, iv. 415 and following, and *Doc. sen.*

[3] At the Brancacci (VASARI, ii. 299).

and delighted to hear that, amongst all the striplings who copied there, his *garzone* was one of the ablest.[1]

In the Papal Hall where these famed compositions stood, the earliest visitors were Ridolfo Ghirlandaio, Raphael, Granacci, Baccio Bandinelli, and the Spaniard Berruguete; in Andrea's time —that is, about 1508–09—Francia Bigio, Jacopo Sansovino, Rosso, Maturino, Lorenzetto, and Tribolo.[2] It was there that the friendly intercourse of del Sarto and Francia Bigio commenced, there that they matured a plan for opening a joint shop of their own.

We shall not pretend to give an exact date to this event, though we suppose that it occurred before the frescoes illustrative of the life of the *beato* Filippo Benizzi were begun in the court of the SS. Annunziata de' Servi.

Francia Bigio and del Sarto took a lodging together on the Piazza del Grano in the heart of Florence, and are said to have worked in common, their maiden undertaking being, perhaps, the Baptism of Christ at the Scalzo which Vasari classes amongst the first of Andrea's efforts. We must confess grave doubts as to whether this episode could have been executed by del Sarto alone, so different is the neglected drawing or the unrefined character of the figures from that which is to be found at the Servi. We might, however, admit that such a production by two young masters just entering upon their career would be accepted as an instalment of great promise, and induce many to give them their patronage. As a cento of Francia Bigio and del Sarto, in which the impress of Andrea is preponderant, we may look upon it as a valuable and perhaps unique product of an association which was soon dissolved. The two men had both been nurtured at one source—Andrea at the school of Piero di Cosimo, the imitator of Leonardo, and the companion of Fra Bartolommeo and Mariotto; Francia Bigio under the tuition of Mariotto. Francia Bigio had less genius than del Sarto, but he was the eldest of the two. So the partners probably agreed to live together, but to paint apart. They often spent their days in

[1] VASARI, v. 7 *sq.*; vi. 137. The Aretine only alludes to one instance where Andrea del Sarto had a share in Piero di Cosimo's works, and that is when the car of death was made for one of the carnivals during the supremacy at Florence of the Soderini (iv. 134 to 136).

[2] *Ib.*, vii. 161.

the same places, but never, as far as we know, divided the labours of one and the same picture.[1] They competed at the Servi, at the Scalzo, at Poggio a Caiano; but contemporary history contains no reference to anything that they did in companionship. That the Baptism of Christ was the first of a long series at the Scalzo, and that it was followed by the scenes from the life of the *beato* Filippo Benizzi at the Servi, is as clear from Vasari as from the evidence of style, the latter being entirely Andrea's, without assistance from Francia Bigio. But the mere fact of two such competitors living in constant intercourse led to the inevitable results that Francia Bigio assumed and kept a reminiscence of del Sarto, and Andrea, for his part, took something from his friend.

There is a panel in the Duke of Northumberland's Castle of Alnwick, in which a man of twenty in a black cap covering long hair sits resting his elbow on a table. The hand thus reposing holds a scroll with an illegible direction. On the table itself is an ink-bottle, a pen, and a sheet of paper, on the corner of which one reads: "Al di . . . Andrea del Sarto pictore . . . entia."[2] This is supposed to be Andrea's own portrait, though it might represent another and unknown person. It is coloured in a soft and harmonious manner in oil, with well-fused and fatty impasto; but it is somewhat empty, feeble in the transitions from light to shade, and timidly drawn. The technical method is that of Francia Bigio's teacher Mariotto, the character generally that of del Sarto in the frescoes of the Servi, but without the breadth to which he already expands there. In this effort to approximate to Albertinelli and Fra Bartolommeo, we trace the force of Francia Bigio's persuasion or precept on Andrea, unless we assume that Francia Bigio is himself the author, in which case he and del Sarto would have painted exactly alike. Yet, as Andrea for some time longer felt a sympathetic leaning towards the Frate and Albertinelli, we may consider him more likely to have done the portrait of Alnwick Castle than Francia Bigio.

[1] The curtains of the altarpiece at the Servi, by Filippino and Perugino, are now proved to have been, not by Francia Bigio and Andrea del Sarto, as VASARI says (v. 8), but by Andrea di Cosimo, who did them in 1510–11. See the record in VASARI, v. 207, annot.

[2] The words immediately following "Al di" are not particularly clear, and may be omitted.

Since the days of Baldovinetti and Cosimo Rosselli the court of the convent of the Servi had received no additional decoration. In one corner Alesso had left a Nativity, carried out in new and perishable materials; in another, Rosselli had scarcely finished a Miracle of the sainted Philip. The Brotherhood of the Servi, though poor, was ambitious of completing these adornments, and with much tact sought out rising men from whom skill and small charges were to be expected. Thus it was that from 1509 to 1514 it had in employ three young fellows of great promise—Francia Bigio, Andrea del Sarto, and Andrea Feltrini. We can scarcely tell, indeed, whether most to admire the cleverness which could discern the value of these youths, or the cunning with which jealousy was sown between Francia Bigio and del Sarto, in order that the convent might reap the advantage of their rivalry. To the latter, who had already the reputation of being soft and malleable, the sacristan Fra Mariano suggested how quickly his name would become known were he to leave a successful proof of his talent in a public and much frequented locality, and how important it would be for him to work rather there than elsewhere, even for a minimum of wages. It was hinted meanwhile that if he refused so favourable an offer, Francia Bigio would accept it—nay, had already consented to do so. This final argument appeared so conclusive to Andrea that he signed a contract for three frescoes, which he immediately began, and in a few months he had uncovered St. Philip sharing his Cloak with the Leper, St. Philip cursing the Gamblers, St. Philip restoring the Girl possessed of a Devil.[1]

Age has affected the episode of the saint and the leper, in which Andrea's ability as a draughtsman and an imitator of easy motion is divulged in figures of good proportions. The Curse of the Gamblers is more spirited, and illustrates Andrea's versatility in thought, as well as the power with which he gives life to every part of a vast landscape. The rabble of men-at-arms playing cards under a tree has been overwhelmed or dispersed by a stroke of lightning at the moment when the saint turned to assure them of the wrath of God. The two attendant brethren have stopped because St. Philip halted. The muleteer in the distance hurries

[1] VASARI, v. 10 *sqq.*

away as he looks back at the havoc—the whole scene so vivid in its contrasts, so happily impulsive in their rendering, that little remains to be desired except, perhaps, some of that higher and less homely quality, the lack of which makes Andrea take a place below Fra Bartolommeo. A ready action, variety of position, appropriate drapery, fine and accurate drawing of frame and limb, disclose his inborn strength, as well as facility for making the best features of the great masters his own. Space, divided according to the rules of the best Florentines, is filled up with a sense of the undoubted dignity and earnestness of legendary history. In the groups life, pulsation, and the boldness of Uccello distinguish every personage. The execution is that of a man already confident in himself, uniting freedom with rapidity in reproduction, not clinging rigidly to pure science and severe measure, but substituting for these quickness and spirit.

The same simplicity and tact are preserved in the central episode of the fresco in which St. Philip drives the demon out of the female supported in the arms of her relations, the interest of the spectators in the miracle being well kept up, and made evident without coarseness either in attitude or in expression.[1]

The applause which these three pieces received encouraged Andrea to proceed, and he at once resumed the brush for the Death of St. Philip and the Children cured by St. Philip's Garment.

The first of these, arranged in a form that was scarcely to be avoided, represents a friar behind a couch, leaning over the prostrate body of the saint, whilst two groups stand on the sides of the foreground. The clergy in rear to the left suspend their chant in order to express their surprise at a wonder occurring before their eyes. A child lies dead on the floor, and revives at the touch of the bier, the two incidents of the death and resurrection being judiciously compressed into one. In this, more than in any other composition of the series, del Sarto tells of the study which he devoted to Domenico Ghirlandaio, not only for the sake of fit distribution, but for the purpose of acquiring a just partition of the masses of light and shade. Nothing can be

* 1 In the seventeenth century some masons, working in the court of the Servi, broke through two heads in this fresco. The pieces were picked up and put together again by Domenico Cresti (il Passignano) (BALDINUCCI, ix. 398 *sq.*).



Photo, Alinari

ST. PHILIP BENIZZI CURSING THE GAMBLERS

BY ANDREA DEL SARTO

From a fresco in SS. Annunziata, Florence

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more clearly demonstrated than this in the head of the friar who leans over St. Philip, where the transitions are given with remarkable force; nor would the fresco as a whole have lost anything had this law of equilibrium been extended with equal impartiality to the rest of the *dramatis personæ*. But Andrea seems never to have been fully penetrated with the necessity for applying the strict rules of chiaroscuro. Carried away by his feeling for harmony of colour, and charmed whenever he could realize a vague and vaporous twilight of tone, he was unable to combine that appearance with absolute neutral contrasts, especially when urged onwards by the supreme ease and confidence with which he was gifted. But whilst he was thus robbed of one quality, the balance was almost restored by the facility with which he obtained transparence, gay colours, and smoothness in the melting of tints into each other. Without hesitation, and, as Vasari said, *senza errori*, in a somewhat subdued and quiet key, he overcame the greatest difficulties of his art, and if not in 1510, certainly in 1514, deserved to be called the best fresco painter of Central Italy, not excepting even Sanzio. If his aim principally was to reach this point, it was natural that he should be unable to stop at will to attend to the modelling of form or to achieve that which a more phlegmatic but less able *frescante* would have done. For if the latter had failed in this at one sitting, he would have tried to supply the deficiency at a second by dry touching—a remedy which del Sarto habitually disdained.

The Children cured by the Dress of St. Philip is attractive, symmetrical, and full of truth. A priest in a doorway lays the cloth on the head of a child kneeling in front of its mother. Two persons ascend or stand at the foot of the steps on each hand. To the left, a cripple receives charity; to the right, an aged man leaning on his staff is the portrait of del Sarto's friend, Andrea della Robbia. Fleshy rounded curves in the contour of females denotes sensuality in the artist. Males are depicted with a rougher, coarser grain of flesh. Each party to the action has his individuality. Avoiding an ideal of perfection to which he might be obliged to cling, as we see the Frate occasionally doing, Andrea has no thought for anything but the reality. Yet that reality, if below the ideal, and not absolutely select, is dignified and genuine.

The drawing is good in style, and invariably correct. The motions are without strain, and generally appropriate. There is a conscientious attendance to all requirements, such as we are not always able to find at a subsequent period. The general tone is powerful, harmonically without discord, tasteful, and pleasing.[1]

As a whole, we possess in these five frescoes, done, we must remember, before the close of 1510, a very creditable series, in which we find no difficulty in tracing how much Andrea del Sarto was indebted to the works of Leonardo, Fra Bartolommeo, and Mariotto. From the first he took a dimpled smile that might almost be called stereotype, and from the two last certain models of form and the peculiar seeking after elegance which they derived from da Vinci. To the warm and sympathetic gaiety of colour remarkable in the Frate he gave an additional vagueness and transparency; to the full and swelling forms of female beauty in della Porta something more of the sensuous. The public justly applauded his performance, and as he began to feel the position he had won, he observed to his clients that, greatly as he was honoured by the patronage of the Servi, he still preferred employment of a less barren kind.

In order to avoid the fatigues and loss of time consequent upon a daily walk from the Piazza del Grano to the Servi, Andrea had taken rooms with Francia Bigio in the Sapienza, a block of buildings close to the SS. Annunziata, where Jacopo Sansovino and Rustici already had their lodging,[2] and not far from the shop of Nanni Unghero.[3] In Sansovino, del Sarto found a friend with whom to discuss the most diverse problems of his profession. He had been at Rome, and witnessed the meeting of two generations of celebrated painters there.[4] His experience was already great, his conversation probably instructive. He was reserved for a noble career as an architect at Venice, and in the meanwhile was a student of sculpture at Florence. He and Andrea constantly exchanged views and opinions, whilst not unfrequently his models were those from which del Sarto made drawings for his pictures.[5]

[1] On the foreground we read: "A. D. MDX." VASARI fully describes these five frescoes (v. 10 *sqq.*).

[2] VASARI, v. 8.

[3] *Ib.*, vi. 56.

[4] VASARI, *Life of Sansovino;* TEMANZA, do. do.

[5] VASARI, vii. 487 *sq.*

Rustici was a sculptor, too, but older—a man of independent means, whose house was the rallying point for artists in general, and the seat of a club of twelve or *dodeka,* to which Andrea del Sarto belonged. This club, which was called the "Company of the Kettle," was chiefly remarkable for the jollity of its dinners, to which every member was allowed to invite four strangers. At these convivial gatherings each brought his own food, and was fined if his dish happened to be that of his neighbour. But on grand occasions, concert being required, previous consultation took place; and ingenuity was exhausted in making temples of pastry and sausages, and figures carved out of cold beef or sucking-pigs. Yet eating and drinking was not the exclusive business of the association, and we are told that in 1519, when Francia Bigio became chairman, or *archipaiuolo,* he recited a comic epic called the "Battle of the Mice with the Frogs," which has been assigned by some to Andrea del Sarto, whilst others believe the author to have been Ottaviano de' Medici.[1]

As it often happens when such clubs consist not merely of boon companions, but of persons known for talent in their business, the more exclusive circles are moved by curiosity to visit them, a connecting link is created between persons whose relative rank would otherwise keep them for ever apart, and a curious mixture is produced in which the worker has a chance of learning to ape the polish of the high-bred noble, and, *vice versa,* the man of station condescends to a dangerous familiarity with those whom he has not ceased to regard as his inferiors. After the successful establishment of the Kettle Club, that of the "Trowel" arose in 1512.[2] The associates were ranged in divisions answering to those of the great and small guilds of Florence, with a third-class adjoined, and called "Adherents," of whom del Sarto was one. Here it became fashionable to read burlesques and to get up masquerades, the arts, as usual, contributing to the entertainment by quaint decorations or by scenic paintings.[3] As the meet-

[1] VASARI, vi. 609; and REUMONT'S *A. del Sarto,* small 8°, Leipzig, 1834, Intr. p. xvii. The poem was published by the Abbate Fontani in 1788, and is in BIADI'S *Life of Del Sarto,* Flor., 1829.

[2] For these and the subsequent facts, see VASARI, vi. 611 and following.

[3] Tantalus in the lower regions was represented at one of the club dinners (VASARI, vi. 618).

ings were not held in one locality, the wealthier subscribers were able to distinguish themselves by display according to their means; and some instances are mentioned where great expense must have been incurred, as when Bernardino di Giordano gave the "Mandragola" of Niccolò Macchiavelli in 1524, with the scenes and properties by Andrea del Sarto and Aristotile da S. Gallo. This comedy was played before Alessandro and Ippolito de' Medici, adolescents at that time under the care of Silvio Passerini, Cardinal of Cortona; and it was not considered improper to let them listen to dialogues the indecency of which is said to exceed the utmost stretch of licence.[1] In the fifteenth century Lorenzo de' Medici patronized, as we have seen, with a judicious measure and a due regard to social positions. He respected men of genius like Domenico Ghirlandaio. He made an associate of a scholar like Alberti. In the sixteenth century, artists were drawn into the vortex of dissipation and immorality which peculiarly characterized the upper classes in Italy, and there is reason to believe that their decline was the more rapid for that cause.

The frescoes of St. Philip Benizzi had scarcely been finished by Andrea del Sarto, than commissions poured in upon him from many quarters. To accept these whilst he was bound to finish the court of the Servi was dangerous. The sacristan had a contract, and might have enforced it. But he probably had enough knowledge of the world to be aware that if he pressed his advantage too hard del Sarto might escape from his obligation indirectly. It was therefore arranged that two more frescoes should be furnished in the SS. Annunziata for a better price than that which had hitherto been conceded, and their completion was probably left indefinite as to time. It is hardly to be doubted that at this juncture, as Vasari says, part of the refectory of the Vallombrosans at S. Salvi was adorned with figures of saints, that an Annunciation was done at the corner of Orsanmichele, and that two or three altarpieces were delivered at the same period. The first of these are so like the frescoes of St. Philip at the Servi that they must date immediately after them. They represent two cardinal saints—SS. Giovanni Gualberto and Benedict—rest-

[1] See VASARI, vi. 437, and annot., *ib.*

ing on clouds in a blue sky, and they are the ornament of a vaulted recess in which Andrea many years later placed a Last Supper.[1] The Annunciation at the corner of Orsanmichele is all but obliterated.[2]

A fine and fairly preserved Christ appearing as a Gardener to the Magdalen, ordered by the monks of S. Gallo, is said to exist in a private church belonging to the Covoni in Casentino,[3] finished contemporarily with an Annunciation in the same monastery, which is now at the Pitti.[4] The angel in the latter seems to have dropped slowly from heaven on a cloud, and to have surprised the Virgin at her desk. His mien is calm and composed, and the mode in which he is presented recalls Fra Bartolommeo in the altarpiece intended for S. Pietro at Murano. But the movement and lines, though soft and gentle, are unconstrained and free, as in del Sarto's own creation, the Nativity at the Servi. The Virgin is most dignified in air and pose. Decorum and grave beauty are almost as completely combined as in della Porta. Without the emptiness which grew into a defect with Andrea's later years, the colour is rich, and in good keeping with a landscape full of atmosphere. The lights and shadows are almost as well defined as in Mariotto and the Frate, and the handling is surprising for its lightness and ease. All that is wanting to entitle the painter to an equal rank by the side of the masters we have named is the scientific correctness of form and chiaroscuro. We ascertain the exact date of this panel from the fact that the predella was entrusted to Pontormo, who entered the atelier at the Sapienza in 1512 and left it in 1513.[5]

If in 1510 Andrea deserved already to be called one of the best

[1] VASARI, v. 14. Figures life-size, in fresco, tastefully coloured, reminiscent of Fra Bartolommeo, and fairly preserved.

[2] There are marks of an Eternal, and of the Virgin's head, and part of angel, still in existence. The rest is gone. The fragments are like the works at S. Salvi. See VASARI, v. 14.

* [3] This must be a mistake. The editor is indebted to Dr. Giovanni Poggi for the information that the picture in question, having in 1527 been transferred from S. Gallo to S. Jacopo tra i fossi, passed thence in 1849 to the Academy in Florence, when it in 1875 came to the Uffizi (No. 93).

[4] Pitti, No. 124, once transferred from S. Gallo to S. Jacopo fra Fossi (VASARI, v. 17; vi. 247). The flesh in the Virgin is somewhat injured. The figures are life-size.

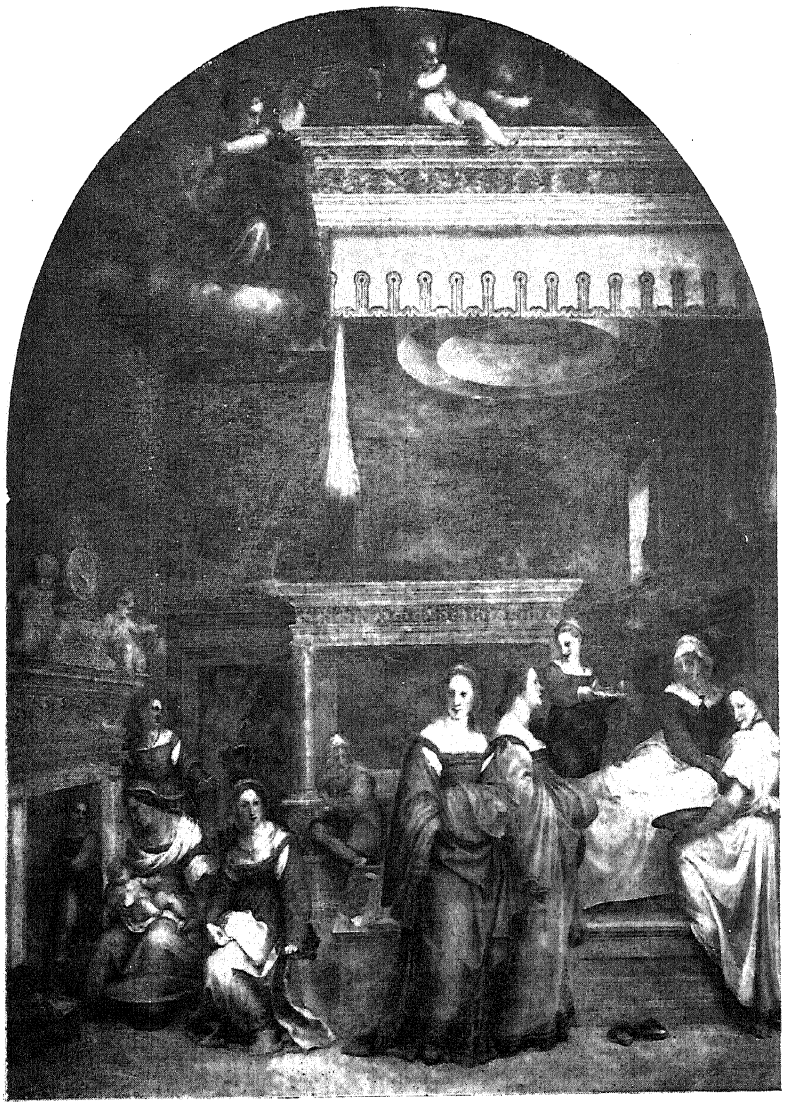
[5] VASARI, v. 17; vi. 247. Pontormo's predella is gone,

executants in fresco of his day, in 1512 he might fairly be adjudged excellent in the practice of oil. Nor is there any reason to doubt but that this excellence was willingly admitted. Amongst the acquaintances made during the study of the cartoons of Michael Angelo and Leonardo in the Papal Hall at Florence, Baccio Bandinelli is to be numbered. His designs had been praised so highly by his comrades and other judges for their boldness and decision that his vanity claimed a place abreast of Buonarroti. Anxious to add to this quality that of a good colourist on panel, he asked Andrea del Sarto to take his portrait, hoping, in the event of his consenting, to secure a good likeness and to surprise the newest tricks of the profession. Vasari amusingly dwells on the indignation of del Sarto at this mixture of cunning and deceit in Bandinelli, and affirms that Andrea kept Baccio so long sitting he could not learn any of the desired secrets.[1] The story, apart from its illustration of Baccio's character, clearly proves the respect felt by Andrea's contemporaries for his power as an easel-painter.

Towards the end of 1511, and during the two following years, del Sarto was occasionally busy in finishing a Nativity of the Virgin and a Procession of the Magi in the court of the Servi, and two parables in the garden of the same convent. With the help of Andrea Feltrini and his own pupil, Pontormo, he got up the cars for a triumph with which the elevation of Leo X. to the Papacy was celebrated in the early part of 1513. All Florence was in excitement at the return of the Medici. But neither his professional occupations nor the vicissitudes of politics were of interest to del Sarto in comparison with one particular pursuit to which his attention was most exclusively devoted. He had long been under the charm of a hatter's lovely wife, whose husband, Carlo Recanati, had a shop in the Via S. Gallo. The death of the latter gave del Sarto an opportunity which he is said to have long desired. He married Lucrezia del Fede, and, according to Vasari, took a very beautiful but very faithless partner to his side.[2] Lucrezia, it is certain, was of a most overbearing and

[1] VASARI, v. 22 *sq.*, and vi. 138 *sq.*

[2] The marriage ceremony was performed on December 26, 1512 (BIADI, in REUMONT, *u.s.*, *Life of Del Sarto*, note to p. 54). [* This is a misunderstanding; the date in question is given by Biadi as that of Recanati's death. According to Milanesi, however (VASARI, v. 19, n. 1), he only died on September 17, 1516.]



Photo, Alinari

THE NATIVITY OF THE VIRGIN

BY ANDREA DEL SARTO

From a fresco in SS. Annunziata, Florence

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intermeddling temper; and her treatment of Andrea's apprentices, Vasari amongst the number, is perhaps the cause why her character has been depicted in a most unfavourable light. It is not said, indeed, that Pontormo left his master because Lucrezia teased him; but there is no doubt that this occurred immediately after Andrea's marriage in 1513.[1]

As regards Andrea himself, it cannot be affirmed that his new state contributed in any sense to impair the talents with which he had been gifted. On the contrary, there are no examples of success in his whole lifetime equal to that which his two last frescoes in the court of the Servi obtained.

A glance at the annexed reproduction of the Nativity will show that he really possessed the eminence that was conceded to him as a composer. Consistently in the path which had been opened with the incidents from the legends of St. Philip, the great art of appropriately disposing figures is applied. Two principal groups occupy the chief places, and are bound to each other by the brooding Joachim, who moodily sits, as if carved by Michael Angelo, in the background. St. Anna is the centre of attraction in the group on the right, the infant Virgin that of the group to the left. The dimpled faces of the females in attendance, and the grave dignity in the gait and air of the two visitors, are those which we admire in Leonardo and Domenico Ghirlandaio. There is an excessive freedom and natural appearance in the movements and full, developed forms, which tell of the progress of the age and the influence of Fra Bartolommeo. The proportions are good, the outlines sweeping. The action is varied and expressive, the draperies are full and excellent in cast. The perfect fusion and more than usually successful contrast of light and shade suggest the presence of real flesh and blood,[2] the handling being more than ever faultless, and producing transparence without objectionable thicknesses of surface. Richness and relief are united with finished modelling. What da Vinci produced with oils in the Mona Lisa seems realized by Andrea del Sarto with fresco. In the subdued yet gay tones peculiar to himself he gives sweet chords of harmony with none of the glare of the primaries,

[1] See VASARI. vii. 561; v. 19; vi. 246, 248; vii. 8-10

[2] Vasari truly says so (v. 15 *sq*.).

yet without the excessive soberness of tertiaries. There is a calm depth of atmosphere over all, in the upper mist of which cherubs disport with charming vivacity.[1] In short, the Nativity is on the highest level ever reached in fresco. There is only more *bravura* in the Last Supper of S. Salvi or in the Madonna del Sacco.

Yet, as every object in life has its unfavourable side, this masterpiece has also its defects. We miss in its complex the strong control which is usual in Fra Bartolommeo, Raphael, and Leonardo. Domenico Ghirlandaio accustoms us to a serene severity in the presentation of such scenes as these. Leonardo and Michael Angelo added what was necessary to create modern art in its technical improvements, its select ideal in elegance of action, and shape. Fra Bartolommeo had his part in this striving which was crowned with final success by Raphael. Andrea del Sarto, who gave the last polish to fresco, introduced the germ of a licence which soon became very marked. The variegated aspect of his tints, which is already apparent even in his Nativity, becomes offensive by excess. Masaccio, who was the colourist of his age, and who forestalled it as regards atmosphere and chiaroscuro, kept to a stern simplicity of key. Fra Bartolommeo already shows us how surfaces can be broken, especially in shadow, by intricate interweaving of tints. This principle was carried out with still greater frequency by del Sarto, who thus rivalled the Frate in giving a new feature to Florentine painting. But they inaugurated a system which was soon to be productive of evil by substituting artificial effect to the study of nature. This evil arose in del Sarto probably from the attempt to work on panel with the same fluid vehicle as on lime, using the underground as a means for transparence. But in this attempt the speed with which he laboured placed him at a disadvantage, and for that and other reasons he remains far below Leonardo. Thus it happened at Florence that the very reverse occurred from that which

[1] The colour in the upper arch of this fresco is somewhat eaten away by time, or absorbed by the plaster. There is a constant contrast of warm light with cool shadow. The flesh of a pearly-grey in the darker places. On the mantelshelf one sees the arms of the Medici held by a child, and on an ornament the words: "Andreas faciebat." Between the pilasters one reads "A.D. MDXIIII.," and beneath is the double A interlaced, which is Andrea's usual monogram.



Photo, Hanfstaengl

PORTRAIT OF LUCREZIA DEL FEDE

BY ANDREA DEL SARTO

From a picture in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin

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we note in Venice. In Florence, fresco was carried to far greater excellence than oil-painting, because its use was most common. The Venetians transferred the technical methods usual to them from canvas to wall, and failed almost invariably in the trial.

As Jacopo da Empoli sat in the court of the Servi copying the Nativity of del Sarto (about the year 1570), an old lady who had evidently come to Mass stopped by his easel and began talking to him. She pointed out one of the figures in the fresco as a likeness of Andrea's wife, and, as she warmed over this theme, revealed herself to Jacopo as Lucrezia del Fede.[1] The person most like del Sarto's spouse is the female in the centre of the foreground, whose type and face her husband, with or without intention, repeated from this time forward in almost all his Madonnas. She was a full, matronly woman of fine proportions, of whom we have the lineaments in a fine portrait by Andrea at the Berlin Museum,[2] though not perfectly coinciding in every respect with a second in the Museum of Madrid.[3] She must have had some considerable amount of patience to sit, as she so frequently did, to her better half.

Simultaneously with those of the Nativity of the Virgin, Andrea had made the cartoons of the Procession of the Magi, intended as an amplification of the Nativity of Christ by Baldovinetti. With great activity and ready movements in the crowd of Kings, accompanied by their Court and suite, with sufficient dignity in the several parts, this fresco is done with a still more running hand, but with less chastened sentiment than its companion. Perhaps the wish to contrast staid and modest bearing in females, of which the Nativity chiefly consists, with bravery and energy in males, of which the Procession is exclusively composed, had something to do with the self-confident swing generally prevalent in the figures. The result only confirms the impression previously created. Amongst the King's followers to the left of Sansovino, who stands with the musician Ajolle on the right foreground, is

[1] Baldinucci, *Opere, u.s.*, Life of Jacopo da Empoli.

[2] Berlin, Museum, No. 240 (wood, oil, life-size).

[3] Madrid, No. 332. This portrait is very fine, dignified, and noble in pose, but deprived of much transparence by restoring. The form is given with some of Leonardo's precision. The matronly shape and squareness of Lucrezia is not in this portrait, which is one of the best by del Sarto.

the likeness of Andrea del Sarto by himself, the same in features as another at the Uffizi which Vasari engraved for his Lives. The face is regular; it is that of a man of robust constitution, but far from refined, and in this respect a reflex of del Sarto's individuality. It neither suggests the elevation of Leonardo, nor the polish of Raphael, nor the grand force of Michael Angelo. Without the feeling for gorgeous tone peculiar to Titian, but with a sense of vapour akin to Correggio's, he is well described as almost "divine" in his mode of colouring. Born a painter, according to Vasari,[1] he was versatile as a composer, with a tendency to conventionalism, because he overlooked the variety required in the treatment of different objects, such as flesh, cloth, wood, stones, leaves, and sky. But he was homely even in his energy, because he had not the breed of his great rivals. We have spoken of the portrait at the Uffizi. It is on a tile hastily but freely laid in at a late period of the master's life.[2] There is a much finer one in possession of the Marquis Campana, who purchased it from the Capponi family at Florence. Here we have the same general contour, shape of bone, and character of the head, as in the Procession of the Magi at the Servi. Though much restored, it unquestionably resembles that of the Uffizi, and is undoubtedly by Andrea himself when aged about thirty.[3]

The frescoes of the Servi, having been finished in 1514, were uncovered at the same time as the Sposalizio of Francia Bigio.[4] Those of the Servi garden, which have perished, and others of inferior interest, were no doubt completed at the same period.[5]

[1] VASARI, iv. 12; v. 6 *sq.*

[2] Uffizi, No. 280. The face is vulgar, and the dress neglected; the colour thick, opaque, and reddish in flesh. Fresco.

[3] Mr. Reumont mentions this portrait, which he had seen in the house of the Marquis Vincenzo Capponi at Florence. On the back of the panel, we are told, are the words: "p°. 1518." The face is turned three-quarters to the left. The head adorned with long hair of pleasing curl falling from a black cap, the white chemisette covered by a dark silk vest with violet sleeves. On the green ground the double A interlaced. Life-size, oil, wood. The face and hair much repainted. [* The editor has been unable to trace this picture.]

[4] The whole sum promised to A. del Sarto for the frescoes was 98 florins. He received a bonus of 42 florins in addition (annot. VASARI, v. 13).

[5] There are records of part payment for the Procession of the Magi on December 12, 1511, and for the Nativity on the 25th of the same month. Also an item for work in the garden in June 25, 1512, and a further notice of the same kind

We do not know when the head of Christ on the high-altar, which Vasari praises so much, and which in a great measure deserves his encomiums, was done.[1] It is known that the Assumption for which he contracted in June (16), 1515, was afterwards carried out by Pontormo.[2] The Brotherhood of the Scalzo had overbid the brethren of the SS. Annunziata, and del Sarto had been induced to promise the continuation of the monochromes, of which a solitary example had been furnished so many years before.

Before November, 1515, he had finished there the allegory of Justice and the Sermon of St. John in the Desert, in which the simplicity and repose of the composition distinctly recall Domenico Ghirlandaio, whilst some of the personages about the saint, who preaches from a stump in the centre of the space, have a wildness and angular drapery that betray a sudden and passing change in the spirit of the artist. It was the time in which the engravings of Dürer's Passion, first published in 1511, had found their way to Italy, and received a genuine tribute of admiration. Del Sarto was tempted to imitate them, and surrendered some of his old Florentine simplicity in order to assume a broken system of line and an unnatural exhibition of strong action and muscular force.

As he brought these frescoes to a close, the news of Leo X.'s coming spread through Florence; and unusual efforts were re-

in June, 1513. The date of 1514 on the Nativity, and the statement of VASARI (v. 192) that that fresco as well as that of the Magi and the Sposalizio of Francia Bigio were uncovered at one time, are conclusive as to when this series at the Servi was finished (see annot. VASARI, v. 16 *sq.* and 67). There are two panels in the collection of Mr. Fuller Maitland which seem copies of Andrea's frescoes in the garden. They are by Nanaccio. [* These were bought at the Fuller-Maitland sale (May 10, 1879, Nos. 102 and 103) by Mr. Eagle.]

The other frescoes at the Servi were in the Novitiate; one of them, now in the Academy of Arts (No. 75), is a naked Christ on the Tomb, life-size, very easily handled, and transparent. The other piece is an interior in monochrome; in a room used as an infirmary for women (VASARI, v. 34.) [* The monastery of SS. Annunziata is now occupied by the Istituto di studi superiori and the Istituto geografico militare.]

[1] The head is of a warm, pleasing tone, of a fine mould for del Sarto. The hands are crossed on the breast (wood, oil, life-size). Another head of Christ (? a replica), on canvas, in the same place, is missing, having been sold (VASARI, v. 39 *sq.*).

[2] See the record in VASARI (annot., v. 67 *sq.*).

quired, considering the shortness of the notice, to get ready the triumphal arches and other decorations with which that event was celebrated. Del Sarto and his friends—Jacopo Sansovino and Rustici—concerted measures with extraordinary decision, and the two first were thus enabled to produce a gigantic model of the front of S. Maria del Fiore, which Leo only wished he could have seen carried out in stone with equal readiness.[1]

Resuming his duties at the Scalzo immediately after, he laid the borders round the Baptism of Christ, the Justice, and the Sermon; and at midsummer, 1517, he gave the final touches to St. John Baptizing in the Desert and the Capture, both of them animated scenes, full of exuberant strength, and well-balanced groups, but slightly mannered in the drawing.[2]

In the meanwhile, and in order to vary the monotony of labour at monochromes, he did for S. Francesco of Florence the Virgin and Child, with St. Francis, St. John Evangelist and two angels, now in the gallery of the Uffizi.[3] In the young and handsome Virgin standing on a pedestal, the study of a good model is as evident as that of a coarse one is betrayed in the vulgar realism of the St. Francis. The Evangelist, on the contrary, is full of feeling and of a mild character well deserving praise. Nothing can exceed the harmonious vagueness of the misty tone which bathes and almost obliterates the outlines. For fusion and transparent gaiety of colour, del Sarto was never more remarkable. But the striking feature here is not so much that the picture is a masterpiece, as that we find the painter adapting his means to his subject with astonishing versatility. At the very moment that he surprises us in the Scalzo by strength and energy, he drops into an excessive softness in the handling and tinting of a quiet scene on panel.

In order to show at the same time that he was at home in every mood, he accepted a commission from the monastery of

[1] VASARI, v. 25. In the spring of 1516 (March 17), Del Sarto was employed at the funeral of Giuliano de' Medici (VASARI, v. 208).

[2] See the records in annot. VASARI, v. 68, and VASARI himself, *ib.* 21 *sq.*

[3] Florence, Uffizi, No. 1,112. Wood, life-size, inscribed: "AND. SAR. FLOR. FAB. AD SVMMV. REGINA. TRONV. DEFERTVR IN ALTVM MDXVII." [* This picture is popularly known as the *Madonna dell' arpie*, from the harpies carved in the pedestal on which the Virgin is standing.]

S. Gallo, and thought out the noble altarpiece of the Pitti—The Fathers Disputing on the Doctrine of the Trinity—in every line of which stern power and boldness are discerned. Yet, as usual, there is abundance of the atmosphere and vapour which are now his peculiar characteristics. He seems at this moment to have been looking at some of Fra Bartolommeo's latest emanations, such as the solitary St. Vincent, now at the Academy, or some statues of Michael Angelo; for the masks are expressive and resolute, the attitudes are grandiose, the forms well proportioned, weighty, and nobly draped.[1]

Michael Angelo is said to have expressed a high opinion of Andrea del Sarto, amongst others to Raphael, to whom he is reported to have observed: "There is a little fellow in Florence" (meaning Andrea) "who will bring sweat to your brow if ever he is engaged in great works."[2] That they knew each other is certain, because it was Buonarroti who took young Vasari to del Sarto's shop in 1524,[3] and Andrea for a period was a fanatic admirer of his style. We see this not only in the Dispute on the Trinity, but in a Charity at the Louvre, and a Pietà in the Imperial Gallery at Vienna, both of which were fruits of the year 1518, and one of them produced at a distance from Florence.

Before the close of 1516, Giovambattista Puccini, a dealer, had bought from Andrea del Sarto a Dead Christ mourned by three angels, which, with little satisfaction to the author, had been engraved by Agostino Veneziano.[4] This picture having been sent to the French Court, attracted attention, and created a demand for others. The subsequent despatch of a Madonna to Paris, and its sale for a large profit, raised the reputation of del Sarto still higher, and an agent was instructed by Francis I. in the spring of 1518 to sound the artist as to his inclination for an engagement in his capital.[5] The prospect was too enticing to be resisted, and Andrea, leaving wife and kith and kin behind, started about June for France, furnished with ample means for

[1] Florence, Pitti, No. 172.

[2] Bocchi, *Bellezze di Firenze*, in annot. Vasari, v. 56.

[3] Vasari, vii. 561; vii. 8, 191 *sq.*

[4] Vasari, v. 23 *sq.*, 420. The print is dated 1516. See also Reumont's *Life of Del Sarto*, *u.s.*, p. 92. The original panel is missing.

[5] Vasari, v. 26, 29.

his journey, and in company of his assistant Sguazzella.[1] His reception, and the rich presents of money and clothes made to him on arrival, were well calculated to inflame his zeal, and he was employed forthwith on a likeness of the babe Dauphin,[2] for which the King gave a purse of three hundred gold pieces.[3]

Amongst the productions of this time, none is more important, as showing Andrea's leaning towards Buonarroti, than the Charity, which now hangs in the collection of the Louvre.[4] Though it has lost much beauty of colour, it was evidently done with Andrea's most consummate art, the style being more seriously considered than that of the Madonna of 1517. The maxims of Michael Angelo are applied with a determined purpose, so as to be obvious not only in the conception, the arrangement, and action, but in the grandeur of the forms, the way in which motion is suggested, and the drawing of the parts. We are reminded of nothing so much as of the Madonna, with the Child at her breast, left unfinished by Michael Angelo in the Medici chapel at S. Lorenzo of Florence. There is no other creation of this period so like this one as the Pietà in the Imperial Gallery in Vienna, where the Dead Christ lying on the foreground is bewailed by the Virgin and two angels. The effort made by Andrea in this piece to realize despairing lamentation is accompanied by no refinement. There is nothing ideally select in the shape of the Redeemer or in the face of His Mother, but the naturalism of the nude, the correctness of the drawing and modelling, and the intensity given to the expression of grief, are so genuine that, whilst we miss the instinctive dignity of the period of Giotto and Angelico, the nobleness of Masaccio and Ghirlandaio, the elegance of Leonardo and Fra Bartolommeo, and the elevation of Raphael, we still find much to admire and to praise, the more as the colour is still brilliant and powerful.[5]

[1] He started after May; for on the 23rd of that month he acknowledges the receipt of 150 florins from Bartolommeo del Fede as payment of the dowry brought him by Lucrezia. See annot. VASARI, v. 69, and VASARI himself, v. 29 *sq.*

[2] Born, February 28, 1518. [3] VASARI, v. 30.

[4] Louvre, No. 1,518. Wood, transferred to canvas, oil, figures large as life, inscribed: "Andreas Sartus Florentinus me pinxit MDXVIII." There is an old copy of this Charity in the Museum of Nantes.

[5] Vienna, Imperial Gallery, No. 39. Wood, figures under life-size, inscribed: "And. Sar. Flo. fac.," a little empty in the shadows, and injured by old cleaning

Whilst del Sarto was thus charming his new patrons with these and other masterpieces,[1] his wife was spending a solitary time at Florence, and wrote letters urging her husband to return. The tenderest fibres of Andrea's heart were moved by her prayers, and he asked for leave, promising a speedy return. Francis acceded to this application, and even trusted del Sarto with funds for buying works of art in Italy. But his confidence was betrayed by Andrea in the most unpardonable manner.

Having squandered his own and the King's money at Florence in the building of a house, Andrea found himself unable to make the necessary purchases, and, dreading his patron's anger, he was forced to remain at home. How he succeeded in escaping punishment for his breach of trust is a mystery unexplained to the present day, and it is characteristic of the condition of morals in that age, if we admit the truth of Vasari's history, which was never impugned, that Andrea suffered little in position or in purse from an offence that might have been productive to him of the most serious consequences.

In 1520 del Sarto, no longer thinking of his French connection, and evidently secure from all pursuit, resumed his business at Florence, and renewed his old relations with the Brotherhood of the Scalzo. In 1520 he composed the allegories of Faith and Charity in that cloister, and would have continued the series, but that he was called away by more powerful patrons.

Ottaviano de' Medici, having been charged by Cardinal Giulio, as we have related, to put the country palace of Poggio a Caiano in order, engaged Francia Bigio, Pontormo, and del Sarto to paint frescoes there, and Andrea undertook the Cæsar receiving Tribute. The half of that subject which he completed is imposing by the variety and richness of episodes, like those with which we become familiar in the canvases of Paul Veronese. It is not so much a composition as a lively and picturesque scene,

and retouching. There are two copies of this Pietà in England. One belongs to Mr. Farrer, the other to Mrs. Butler Johnstone. See *postea*, the register at the close.

[1] For a list of these see *postea*. [* In this connection may, however, be mentioned a picture not known to the authors—the portrait of a lady, probably painted by Andrea in France, as the dress of the sitter would seem to indicate, belonging in 1910 to Messrs. Carfax in London, and reproduced in the Arundel Club Portfolio for that year, No. 5.]

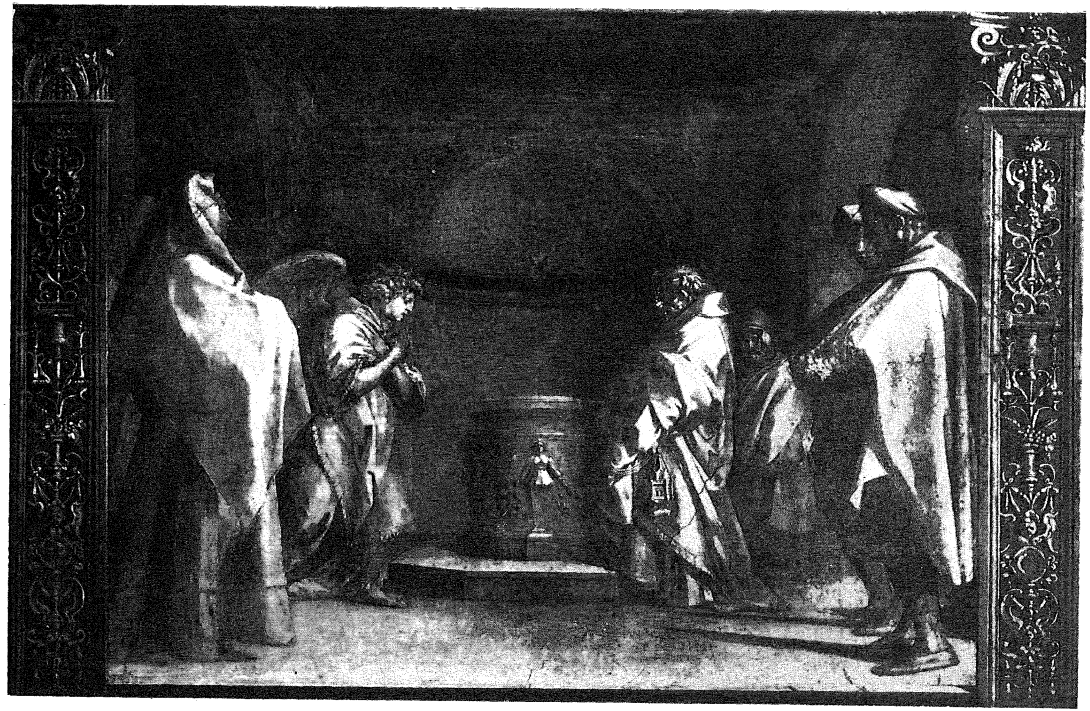
in which great difficulties of perspective are overcome in the representation of circular lines of buildings and steps, and in the position of figures in various planes. Cæsar stands at an arched gate, to which various personages ascend with their tribute. One carries a cage full of parrots, another leads a string of Indian sheep, a third ascends with a monkey, a dwarf comes with a chameleon in a box. A statue of Abundance is on a pedestal to the right.

A man capable of doing this must be strongly endowed with the pictorial spirit, specially organized for depicting showy incidents of pomp and wealth, quick in execution, and versatile in the invention of groups. It is almost needless to mark in addition that del Sarto's drawing is resolute and free, his knowledge of the human frame in every aspect solid, his action ready and suitable, and his transitions of light and shade properly defined. The gay variety of his colours looks to much advantage at Poggio a Caiano by the side of the bricky tones with which the feebler Allori finished the Tribute. Compared with Francia Bigio, del Sarto is playful, genial, pleasing, and in every sense superior. Both are far above Pontormo.[1]

The death of Leo X. having interrupted the laying out of this country palace, Andrea returned to the decoration of the Scalzo, where he furnished at successive intervals the Dance of the Daughter of Herodias, the Martyrdom of John the Baptist, the Presentation of the Head, the Allegory of Hope, and the Apparition of the Angel to Zachariah, the last of which was uncovered and paid for on August 22, 1523. Perhaps we owe to the same period the two pictures illustrative of the life of Joseph, now at the Pitti. They are assigned to the year 1523 by Mr. von Reumont, with a better insight than we can obtain into the history of the Borgherini family, for whose palace in Florence they were done.[2]

[1] On the base of the fresco: "Anno dñi MDXXI Andreas Sartius pingebat, et A. D. MDLXXXII. Alexander Allorius sequebatur." Some slight abrasions have been caused by time, especially in the sky, which is much discoloured. Vasari had the drawing of the subject by Andrea in his portfolio, and describes it as the most finished by him that he had ever seen.

[2] REUMONT'S *Life of Del Sarto, u.s.*, 132, 133. Andrea del Sarto competed here with Granacci, Pontormo, and Bacchiacca. See VASARI, iii. 592; v. 26 *sq.*, 342 *sq.*; vi. 261 *sq.*



Photo, Alinari

THE APPARITION OF THE ANGEL TO ZACHARIAH
BY ANDREA DEL SARTO
From a fresco in the Chiostro dello Scalzo, Florence

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Pier Francesco Borgherini, namely, was betrothed to Margaret, daughter of Ruberto Acciaiuoli, and his father Salvi had conceived the idea of preparing for the young pair on their wedding-day a room entirely decorated with panels, and a nuptial bed painted by the best artists. The taste with which his orders were carried out was so remarkable that Vasari never lets an occasion pass without mentioning the masterpieces which the place contained, and he dwells with complacency on the carved work of Baccio d'Agnolo and the subjects introduced by del Sarto, Granacci, Pontormo, and Bacchiacca. But the most striking testimony to their value is afforded by the fact that during Pier Francesco's absence at the time of the siege of Florence, Giovambattista della Palla, an agent of the King of France, persuaded the Florentine Government to let him have the spoils of the palace situated in the Borgo S. Apostolo, his intention being to strip the walls and send the confiscated pieces to Francis I. He was met with firm countenance in the precincts themselves by the wife of Pier Francesco, who loudly addressed him with the volubility of her sex: "Vile broker," she said, "paltry two-penny salesman, how dare you come to remove the ornaments of gentlemen's rooms, and deprive this city of its richest treasures, that they may embellish the houses of strangers, our enemies! The bed you have come for was made for my wedding, in honour of which my husband's father Salvi prepared all this magnificent and royal furniture, which I am fond of, and intend to preserve and defend in memory of him with the last drop of my blood." With this and much more the worthy descendant of the Acciaiuoli received the dealer of the King of France, and to such purpose that he retired crestfallen and empty-handed to his own lodgings.[1] Subsequent vicissitudes dispersed the contents of the Borgherini Palace, as we perceive, to public galleries. Andrea del Sarto's part consists of two pictures, in which the various incidents of Joseph's dreams, the conspiracy of his brothers, the captivity in Egypt, the interpretation of the vision of the kine to Pharaoh, are put together with a copiousness of incident, a breadth and ease of style, that cause these episodes to be justly

[1] See VASARI'S Life of Pontormo (vi. 262 *sq.*). Giov. Batt. della Palla was afterwards imprisoned, and lost his life as a traitor.

considered as extraordinarily worthy of admiration. Nor is it less remarkable to find in them, in addition to Andrea's usual atmosphere and perspective, a powerful colour with more than common vigour in its relief of light and shade.[1]

In the midst of these occupations, del Sarto could not but occasionally remember the bright days which he had spent in Paris, and he even laboured under the hallucination that he might be restored to favour if Francis I. could but see something new from his hand. He therefore proposed to himself to tempt the French monarch first by a Virgin with the Child and saints, which an Italian named Zanobi Bracci was to send through Jacques de Beaune to Paris; next by a figure of St. John the Baptist in the desert. Yet, he had scarcely finished them than he was struck by the futility of his purpose, and the figure, at least, was forwarded to Ottaviano de' Medici. It was this nobleman who had employed him at Poggio a Caiano, and who, now that he had no longer the power of spending the money of his relatives on artists, thought himself bound to lay out his own. He not only kept the Baptist, which afterwards came into the Pitti, and is entitled to a high place in that collection,[2] but ordered Madonnas and portraits in considerable numbers. Of the Madonnas the fate is not known,[3] any more than is that of the portrait of Giulio Cardinal de' Medici; but the Naples Museum still contains the copy, which was done for Ottaviano, of Raphael's Leo X.

It has been related, and till very lately believed, that Frederick II., Marquis of Mantua, visited the Vatican in 1523, and induced Clement VII. to make him a present of Raphael's Leo, which he had seen during a short halt at Florence on his way to Rome; and that Ottaviano de' Medici received the Pope's orders to forward the Leo to Frederick, and practised a truly Medician deceit in sending a copy instead of the original to Mantua. The fact is that the Marquis of Mantua was prevented from visiting the Vatican in 1523 by the French invasion, but he asked the Pope by letter to give him the Leo. Clement instructed Aretino on December 28, 1524, to write to the Marquis promising to send

[1] Pitti, Nos. 87, 88. On the latter the monogram.

[2] Pitti, No. 272. See VASARI, v. 37.

[3] VASARI, v. 37.

the picture as soon as possible after a copy had been taken of it. At the same time, it is clear Ottaviano de' Medici at Florence was instructed to get the copy made. On August 6, 1525, Ottaviano's agent, Giovanni Borromei, wrote to give notice to the Marquis that the Leo "by Raphael" was about to leave Florence in two days, and in due course the panel reached its destination. But Ottaviano had never dreamt of parting with the original. It was a copy which imposed on the Marquis and Giulio Romano, and the copyist was Andrea del Sarto.[1]

Vasari happened to be visiting the palace of Mantua some time after 1525, when Giulio Romano, who showed him round the palace, began to vaunt the beauty of the Raphael, the only one there. Vasari, who about this period had been introduced to del Sarto, and had friendly relations with Ottaviano, was aware of the deception which had been practised, and said to Giulio: "It is very fine, but not Raphael." "How so?" sharply replied the other. "Do I not know it, who recognize the strokes of my own work?" "You have forgotten," urged Vasari; "this is by Andrea del Sarto, as you can see from a sign that I shall show you." Upon this Giulio looked at a mark to which Vasari pointed,[2] which, had it been kept, would have prevented a long and wearisome dispute. The genuineness of the Leo at the Pitti has been questioned in favour of that in the Museum at Naples, though on the face of it the latter bears all the evidence of being taken from the former. No doubt, had Raphael been asked for a replica, he might have reproduced his own design, and yet have betrayed to us which of the two was the repetition. But in the Naples "Leo" the question presents itself more boldly. We miss in it the perfect keeping, ease, grandeur, modelling, and relief of form, the peculiar flavour of art which distinguish Sanzio from del Sarto. The Mantuan double, of less simplicity in the outline than Raphael's, has a contour with the twang of Andrea's accent in it, chiaroscuro of comparatively little massiveness, shadows of a less mysterious depth, because imperfectly modelled. The difference lies in the variety of the principles upon which the two painters laboured. The peculiarity of their schooling pro-

[1] See the proofs in records published by CARLO D'ARCO and V. BRAGHIROLLI, in *Archiv. stor.*, ser. iii., tom. vii., part ii., 1868, pp. 175–193. [2] VASARI, v. 42.

duces distinct modes of handling. Andrea did not place tones over each other, and fuse them together by glaze and half-glaze, according to the process which Raphael had learnt from Leonardo and Perugino. His is a more immediate and rapid system, which has frequently the disadvantage of giving an air of emptiness to his works in oil. That system is applied in the Naples "Leo," where the lights are fused and bright enough to be accepted as a good imitation of Raphael, but where the shadows, owing to their viscous consistency, imperfectly fill the outlines; where the tints of the drapery generally copy those of Sanzio without their spotless unison of harmony.

That Giulio Romano, when doing the honours of Mantua to Vasari, should not have critical leisure to observe these minutiæ, and that Vasari on his part should prefer to convince him by a private sign rather than by a dissertation on styles, is quite natural. The only startling thing is Giulio's assertion "that he had a share in Raphael's Leo X."—a fact which no one could have believed, especially at the time of the incident which has just been related, but which, if admitted, would show how much better a subordinate can work under the supervision of his superior than when he is alone.[1]

Independently of the internal proofs to which our attention has been devoted, there is testimony of a subordinate kind not to be undervalued in discussing the comparative genuineness of the Neapolitan and Florentine pieces. In favour of the former we usually find a couple of lines quoted which are undoubtedly to be read on the back of the panel. These lines run: "P. Leon X. mã di Rafaelo d'Urbino. Gio. battã bt̃oluzzo. A. N. (Agostino Nerone)." In the Gallery of Naples, however, another picture is known to have the same inscription, and that is the Madonna della Gatta by Giulio Romano, which no one except Vasari (once by an oversight) ever attributed to Raphael.[2]

The sudden appearance of the plague in Florence and its neigh-

[1] D'Arco and Braghirolli believe that the original Raphael is that of the Naples Museum, and they affirm that Vasari's story was invented to give a fictitious value to the copy which remained at Florence. But this is a needless aspersion; and as the original is at the Pitti, it falls to the ground (*Arch. stor., u.s.*).

[2] VASARI assigns this very Madonna correctly to Giulio (v. 531) and incorrectly to Raphael (vi. 489).

bourhood now drove del Sarto, amongst others, out of his usual place of abode; and his patron, Antonio Brancacci, having got him a commission from the nuns of S. Piero at Luco in Mugello, he migrated thither with his wife and a heavy suite of relatives in the spring and summer of 1524. The fruits of his stay there were a Pietà, now at the Pitti, a Visitation, and a Head of Christ like that on the altar of the Servi.[1] In the Pietà we have del Sarto's version of the incident so ably depicted by Perugino and by Fra Bartolommeo. The dead Redeemer is raised at the shoulders by the Evangelist, his arm held up by the Virgin. The Magdalen bends over the feet, and wrings her hands, whilst in rear of her St. Catherine looks on. Behind the two latter St. Peter, his body thrown forward and his arms open, expresses grief and horror with tragic, if not with noble, action and features. St. Paul, near the Evangelist, forms a counterpoise to St. Peter. This is a fine example of del Sarto's versatility, a composition, according to the correct rules, very dramatic and powerful, in which even the merit of originality cannot be denied.[2] It has neither the severe grandeur of the Frate, nor the serene calmness of Perugino. But the Michaelangelesque fibre in it shows strength, and the cleverness with which Andrea presents a scene, in its movements forcible, yet human and familiar, in its expression realistic, yet sufficiently elevated, is greatly to be praised.[3]

On del Sarto's return to Florence in autumn, the Visitation at the Scalzo, a very fine unit in the number of his monochromes, was followed by an equally fine Madonna and saints at the Pitti, the predella of which, containing portraits of his acquaintance, Beccuccio Biccherai da Gambassi, is missing.[4] Then came a

[1] The Visitation and the head of Christ are now missing (see VASARI, v. 39).

[*2] As already noted (*antea*, p. 91, n. 2), it is largely based on the composition of Fra Bartolommeo's Pietà in its original condition.

[3] Pitti, No. 58. On the foreground Andrea's monogram (wood, oil, figures life-size). The payment for this piece and for the Visitation (80 ducats) is printed in com. VASARI, v. 71, the date being October 11, 1524. A predella, said to have remained at Luco, has not been seen by the authors. Vasari relates how the whole altarpiece narrowly escaped being carried off by the freebooter Armaciotto de' Ramazzotti (1529–30), who wanted an ornament to his chapel at S. Michele in Bosco of Bologna.

[4] Pitti, No. 307. Wood, oil, figures all but life-size. The Virgin and Child in the clouds are adored by the kneeling SS. John the Baptist and Magdalen, the

series of five Saints of good type and of elegant and lifelike shapes, intended for the church of the Madonna di S. Agnese, but at present in the Cathedral of Pisa—figures of such a misty vagueness in their colouring that they remind us instantly of Correggio, though graver and more contained in mien than those of Antonio generally.[1]

In 1525 Andrea was employed with Bugiardini in making cartoons for the balustrade of the tribune, or *ringhiera*, of the palace of the Signori at Florence,[2] but his masterpiece in that year was the lunette fresco in the cloisters of the Servi, known all over the world as the Madonna del Sacco. Vasari, enraptured, says of it: "That for drawing, grace, and beauty of colour, for liveliness and relief, no artist had ever done the like";[3] and no doubt it is Andrea's best, producing an impression of life which is only proper to works of the highest order. There is no denying that a masculine stamp is given to the youthful and thoughtful, yet inspired, Virgin, as well as to the form of the Child. Yet this in no wise diminishes their grandiose effect. The centre of vision is appropriately chosen for the high place in which the subject is introduced. The grouping is scientific, the attitudes are noble, the drapery admirably calculated to show off the frames, and the balance of light and shadow is perfect. The excellence which del Sarto here attained was never surpassed, and though we have

standing SS. Sebastian, Roch, Lawrence, and another. This is a fine, easily handled work of the master, of well-fused tones.

[1] These five saints are all on wood, and life-size. St. John with the cross, kneeling, and pointing upwards (restored by pointing); St. Catherine with a palm; St. Margaret with a little cross, both very grand and in good attitudes; St. Peter, much injured by repainting; St. Agnes in lively action. These were all taken into the Pisa Duomo in 1618. Four are at the sides of the high-altar; the St. Agnes on a pilaster in the transept.

[2] 1525. Libro' de Stanziamenti de' Signori, Collegi e otto di Balià e custodia dal 1521 al 1527.

1525. October 14.

"Item stantiaverunt . . . . che i Massai e Cassieri di Camera dieno e paghino al camarlingo della camera dell' arme fiorini venti larghi d' oro in oro, che sono per dargli et pagare a maestro Andrea d'Arrigho (? d'Angelo) dipintore per parte del prezzo del cartone che lui fa del disegno delle spalliere della ringhiera del palazzo de' notri eccelsi signori, per essere quelle che di presente si adoprano consumate e guaste, e disonorevole alla nostra città.

Favoured by Gaetano Milanesi, and see VASARI, v. 49.

[3] VASARI, v. 45.



Photo, Alinari

THE MADONNA DEL SACCO

BY ANDREA DEL SARTO

From a fresco in SS. Annunziata, Florence

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two noble specimens in the Birth of St. John (1526) at the Scalzo, and the Last Supper at S. Salvi (1526–27), they are not superior —if, indeed, they are equal—to the Madonna del Sacco.[1]

The Birth of St. John was the latest fresco by Andrea in the cloister where he had competed with Francia Bigio.[2] Adding to the series at intervals only, and finishing the last eleven years after the first, he gives us leisure to examine in one place the expansion and the changes of his style. We see in the Sermon of St. John something that reminds us of the grave Ghirlandaio, and, simultaneously, traces of the influence of a great foreign master. The action of Dürer upon Andrea's mind remains apparent in the Baptism of the Proselytes and in St. John before Herod, inducing him to indulge in energetic and forcible developments of movement. The Apparition of the Angel to Zachariah illustrates the return to a simpler and more natural mood in an Italian, and prepares us for the greater breadth and boldness of the Madonna del Sacco.[3] The two remaining monochromes are good and interesting as compositions.[4] At S. Salvi the Last Supper completes a decoration begun a long time before. It appropriately adorns the refectory, and is calculated to be seen at a burst on entering the door. At that distance and from that spot the reality of the thing is striking, the Saviour and the Apostles all sitting at a long table in a room, at the middle window of which two persons converse. On a nearer view the scenic nature of the handling and the mannered outlines betray the artist's trick. The effect of nature is produced by the able complex of distribution, grouping, and diversified attitude. The

[1] The colour of the Madonna del Sacco is a little bleached by time. On a piece of skirting in the right side one reads: "Anno Dom. M. . . . . V. . .," and in a similar place at the opposite corner: "Quẽ genuit adoravit."

[2] VASARI com., v. 71.

[3] This fresco is inscribed: "I. A. D. M. . . XXI. . ." There is a canvas replica of this subject in monochrome, together with another representing the Baptism of the Crowd, in possession of the Duca Corsini at the Porta al Prato in Florence. They are boldly done, though we cannot say without further study whether we consider them to be by del Sarto or not. They were so called when catalogued Nos. 160 and 168 in the Rinuccini Gallery.

[4] The whole series is much discoloured and injured by cleaning; the lower parts more especially in bad condition, and the base modern. Some of the tricks played on them are related in a note to VASARI, v. 9.

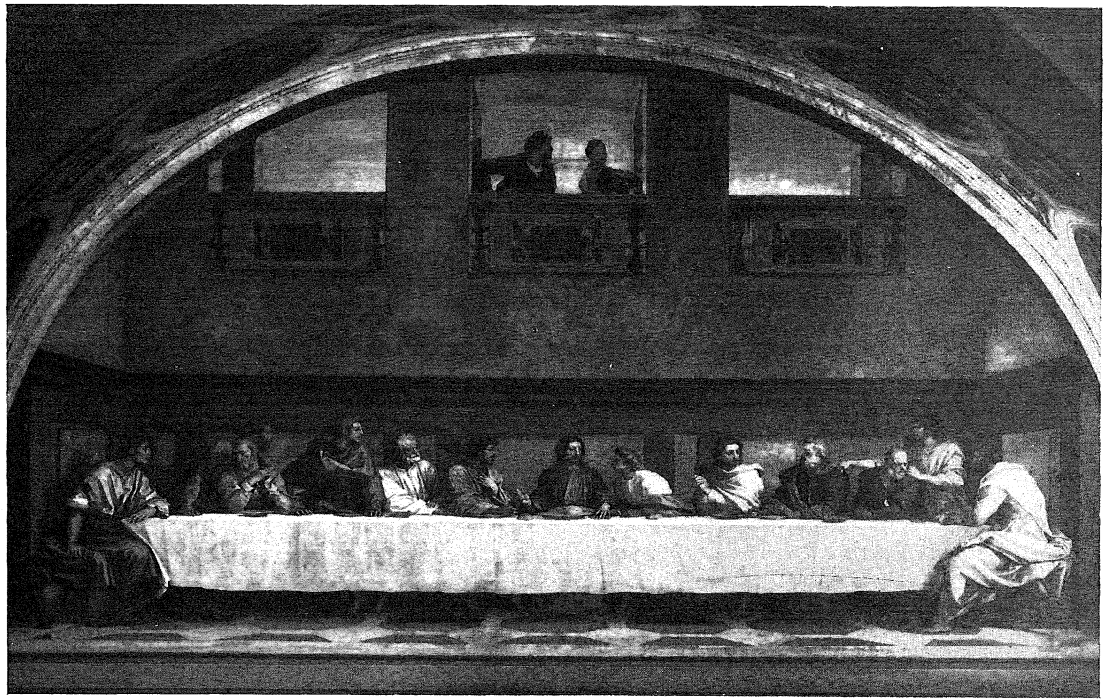
types are characteristic of the age and habit of the men represented, whose faces all seem portraits. To this are superadded colour, in every wave of which there is light, plasticity, and air. It is marvellous how the shadows cast by the figures, and the parts in them turned away from the light keep their value, how the variegated tints preserve their harmony. The action is everywhere true, the drapery of grand and simple cast, but sculptural in the flattened aspect of its relief.[1] The Saviour at the centre of the table puts His hand on that of St. John Evangelist, towards whom his face is bent. In the right he holds the bread in the direction of Judas, who sits by him. This is a group in which all Andrea's faults and qualities are combined. A supreme ideal of goodness, depth of noble thought, are not to be found in the Redeemer, who is a man of no very select form. His movement is essentially that of an ordinary mortal, and in every other instance, where we hope for refinement, we fail to discover it; yet the Apostles at the ends of the table are admirably bound in questioning converse, and there is decorum in them all, if high breed be lacking.

In comparing del Sarto with Leonardo, we thus find the essential difference which exists between the two men, and a key to their inner organization. We should say, from the contemplation of the Cena at Milan, that the painter is high bred. Looking at that of S. Salvi, that he is accustomed to lowly company. Both in their parts yielded something that was original and great, but Andrea, knowing his own strength and capacity, chose his ground accordingly, and for his success under these conditions he is entitled to thanks.[2] If we contrast the magnificent fresco of S. Salvi with the sketch of it which is now in the gallery at Oxford, we cannot but be surprised anew at the power of del Sarto. The panel is a counterpart of the fresco, without the people at the window, painted in oil with the utmost ease, extraordinarily full of life, but particularly charming for the transparence and harmony of its colour.

The last years of del Sarto were taken up exclusively with the

[1] In this a reaction from Fra Bartolommeo.

[2] One or two heads, that of the fourth apostle to the right side of the picture, and that of the stooping spectator at the window, are a little injured by abrasion.



Photo, Alinari

THE LAST SUPPER
BY ANDREA DEL SARTO
From a fresco in S. Salvi, Florence

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completion of altarpieces, in all of which we shall trace an unmistakable grandeur of style, together with increasing facility of hand and mannerism in outlines. One of his last public duties was the representation of certain outlaws on the Piazza del Podestà at Florence in 1530.

We shall proceed to register the works of this and earlier periods which have not found a place in the foregoing text, premising that the painter's death took place on January 22, 1531:[1]

Florence. Academy of Arts, No. 76. Four saints, Michael, John the Baptist, Giovanni Gualberto, and Bernardo degli Uberti, originally in Vallombrosa (VASARI, v. 46). *No.* 61. Two children embracing and holding a scroll. *No.* 77. Predella, with scenes from the lives of the saints in *No.* 76. These three numbers are parts of one altarpiece, the principal figures, almost of life-size (wood, oil), being grand and bold in movement, the children sprightly and full of movement, though a little mannered in outline, the predella episodes lively and forcible in the fashion of Michael Angelo. (The central Annunciation of the predella is No. 1,517 at the Louvre.) Inscribed between the legs of the St. Michael: "Ann. Dom. M.D.XXVIII."

Berlin Museum, No. 246. Of the same year is this fine Virgin and Child among saints, ruined in 1867 by rubbing down and repaints,[2] inscribed on the steps of the throne: "Ann. Dom. MDXXVIII" (wood, oil, figures life-size); the lunette with the Virgin and Angel Annunciate being in Florence. (Originally done for one Giuliano Scala for some patron at Sarzana, then at Genoa; bought at last from M. J. Lafitte in Paris, 1836, for the King of Prussia. See VASARI, v. 46 *sq.*)[3]

Florence. Pitti, No. 163. Annunciation. Lunette of the foregoing, squared in canvas, and injured by restoring, originally at the Servi (VASARI, v. 47). A copy of the latter is: *Louvre, No.* 1,517. Annunciation.

Florence. Uffizi, No. 1,254. Originally at S. Giacomo Nicchio

[1] He had been enrolled on February 2, 1529, a member of the Compagnia di S. Sebastiano; and in the registers of that society we find the notice of his death on the day in question (see *Tav. alfab.*). Vasari says that del Sarto visited Rome. He does not say when. At any rate, this could have been but a short trip, of no influence on his pictorial career (see VASARI, v. 56).

*[2] A subsequent restoration has removed some of the evils caused by the restoration of 1867.

*[3] A similar group of the Virgin and Child (with the addition of the figure of St. John) is seen in a picture by Andrea, belonging to Mr. R. H. Benson, of London.

(VASARI, v. 48). Of the same date as the above; canvas, with St. James caressing a child in the dress of a "battuto," a little dim and injured.

Florence. Pitti, No. 62. The Virgin kneels and looks at the Infant Christ, who smiles at her as He lies on a cloth. The youthful Baptist, standing, points to the Saviour; and St. Joseph, to the left, leans his head on his hand. Fine and pleasing, done for Zanobi Bracci, possibly about 1521 (VASARI, v. 35). Wood, oil. The face of St. Joseph restored. REUMONT (*Life of Del Sarto*, pp. 130–131) speaks of a replica in the Pommersfelden collection, near Bamberg.

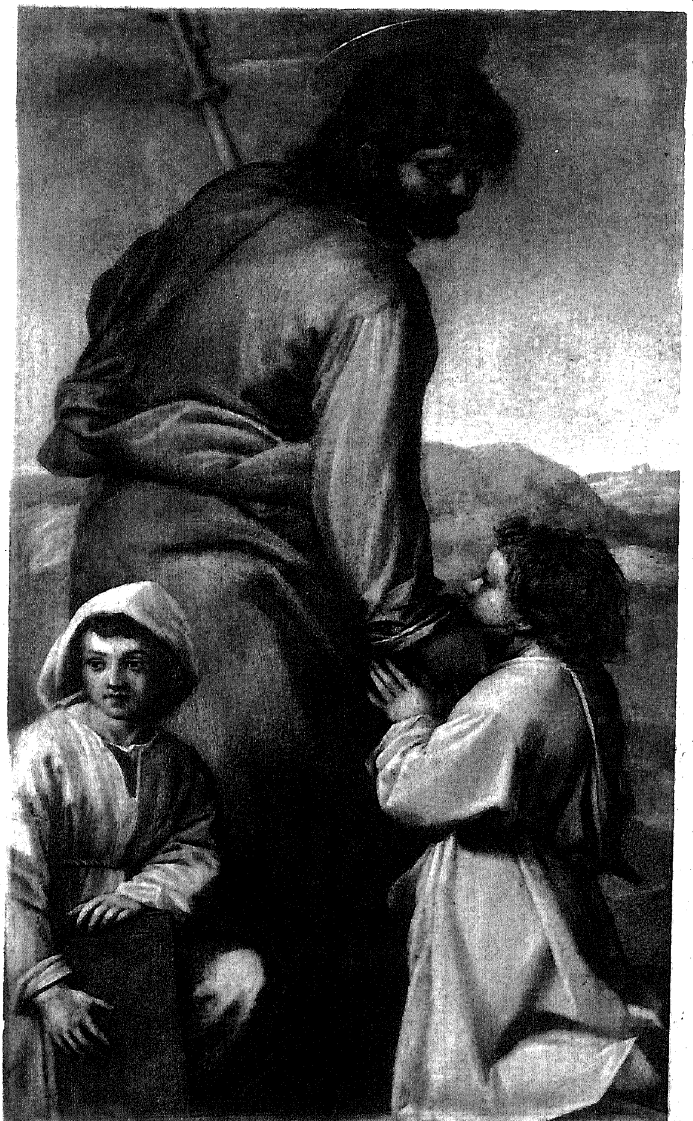
Same Gallery, No. 81. The Saviour, astride on the knee of the Virgin, who sits on the ground, turns to the young Baptist, supported by St. Elizabeth. Splendid, beautifully arranged, and pleasing in types as well as in movements. Perfectly handled in Andrea's fused, transparent manner. Done *circa* 1529, for Ottaviano de' Medici (wood, oil) (VASARI, v. 51 *sq.*). See *postea*, a copy at Dulwich.

Same Gallery, No. 476. Half-length Virgin, with the Child, of great feeling and graceful action, reminiscent a little in style and conception of Fra Bartolommeo.

Vasari tells in detail how Giovambattista della Palla, having authority from the King of France to order or to buy works of art, "commissioned of del Sarto 'Abraham about to Sacrifice Isaac.' Andrea produced a masterpiece in obedience to this request. You could see in the face of the old man an expression of lively faith and constancy, in obedience to which he was ready to immolate his own son. You saw him turn his head towards a beautiful boy-angel, who seemed to tell him to arrest the blow. It is needless to explain the attitude and dress of the father. Isaac, naked, trembled for fear of death; his neck was tinged by the heat, the rest of his body of a fair complexion. The sheep in the thorn seemed to live, and the clothes of Isaac on the ground were real rather than imitated. Besides, there were naked people watching a donkey at pasture, and a landscape so true it could not be better. After the death of Andrea and the imprisonment of Gio. della Palla, this picture was purchased by Filippo Strozzi, and given by him to Alfonzo Davalos, Marquis del Vasto, who placed it in his gallery at Ischia. . . ."[1] "Paolo da Terrarossa, having seen a sketch of the Abraham, asked for a copy of it, which Andrea did for him in small."[2]

[1] VASARI, v. 50 *sq.*

[2] *Ib., ib.*, 52 *sq.*



Heinemann photo

St. James.

by Andrea del Sarto.

From a picture in The Uffizi, Florence.

We have thus notice of a large and a small "Sacrifice of Abraham." Intelligence of a third is given in a letter written (Florence, October 8, 1531) by Gio. Battista Mini to Baccio Valori at Rome, in which the former announces the sale of a *quadro de l'Abram* by Andreino del Sarto for one hundred and twenty-five ducats to James Stuart, Duke of Albany.

The replicas in existence at this time are three in number, none of them worthy of the praise which Vasari heaps on the original ordered by della Palla:

Dresden. Museum, No. 77, with the monogram. Vasari's description of the composition is well given, and need not be repeated. The execution, however, is not first rate, though it seems by del Sarto (wood, oil, figures life-size). The drawing is free and a little mannered, and the touch very bold, the colour bright, but empty in the shadows. There is much expression in the face of Isaac.

Lyons. Museum, No. 55. Carried away from Holland, and given by the Emperor Napoleon in 1811 to this Museum as a copy from Andrea del Sarto. The execution is less agreeable than at Dresden, Andrea's transparency and gaiety of colour being wanting, especially in the grey shadows; the nude ill rendered. The authorship might be assigned to Pontormo (see DE RIS, *Les Musées de Province*, ii. 377). Wood, oil, figures life-size.

Madrid. Museum, No. 336. Wood, oil, under life-size. This may be the Terrarossa copy. It is injured, but bears the stamp of del Sarto's own hand.

Florence. Pitti, No. 191. Assumption (wood, oil, figures life-size). Left unfinished in 1531, and without the last glazes, having been ordered by Bartolommeo Pianciatichi (VASARI, v. 33 *sq.*). A masterpiece for lightness, vapour, and finish, and of a good *sfumato*.

Same Gallery, No. 225. Same subject as No. 191, and showing with what versatility del Sarto was gifted. In this, however, there is a more quiet and orderly distribution, and something more reminiscent of Fra Bartolommeo. The Virgin is raised up towards heaven most gracefully, and there is an atmosphere almost like Correggio's in the glory (wood, oil, figures life-size); according to the annotators of VASARI (v. 34), originally in the Duomo of Cortona.

Same Gallery, No. 123. Virgin in glory, adored from below by four saints. Ordered of Andrea in 1529, paid for in 1531, though unfinished, and completed in 1540 by Vincenzo Bonilli, who wrote the latter date

on a cartellino at foot. The upper part is del Sarto's, the lower, poor and by another hand (VASARI, v. 49; and annot., 72; REUMONT, pp. 201–202).

The foregoing having been all more or less traced to the last years of our artist, we proceed to register pieces of which the history is more obscure, classing them according to the places in which they are exhibited :

Florence. Uffizi, No. 188. Bust of a woman, genuine. *No.* 1,176. Alleged likeness of himself, life-size, youthful and full of *bravura* in the execution (canvas). *No.* 1,169. Bust of a youth, called: "The Commesso di Vallombrosa" (VASARI, v. 48), but apparently a person of higher station. Completely repainted (wood, oil, life-size). *No.* 1,230. Bust of a female with a basket of spindles, paltry in style, reddish, and misty in colour, like a Bacchiacca.

Florence. Pitti, No. 97. Annunciation, originally in S. Godenzo (VASARI, v. 17). Wood, oil, life-size. St. Michael and a canonized friar form part of the scene. This injured panel is much repainted, so that Andrea's hand is hardly discoverable. *No.* 66. Bust of a male, alleged portrait of del Sarto (?). *No.* 184. Do., do., wood, oil, fine, but robbed of its bloom. *No.* 118. A male and female (half-lengths, wood, oil), said to be Andrea and his wife (?), not certainly by the master.

Florence. Prince Corsini, No. 241. Apollo and Daphne (wood, oil). Very careful, touched with gold, and fanciful in costumes. We are reminded of Piero di Cosimo by the general aspect, and of del Sarto by the execution. The name of the latter is appropriate in so far as we have here, possibly, an effort of his younger days. *No.* 159. Virgin, Child, young Baptist and St. Joseph (wood, oil), raw, positive in tone, and damaged by restoring, by a pupil rather than by Andrea in person. VASARI mentions a panel with the same figures as having been done for Gio. Borgherini (v. 52). *No.* 175. Virgin, Child, and four angels (wood, oil), feeble in character and dark in shadow, like a Puligo. *No.* 113. Angel and Tobit (on copper), a copy, of which there is a counterpart in the Pitti (No. 292). *No.* 121. Virgin seated, with the Child, behind them the young St. John. This is a modern imitation (wood, oil, life-size) of a copy from del Sarto's fresco near the Porta a Pinti (Vasari), now destroyed. The copy is in the third corridor at the Uffizi, without a mark (p. 24 of catalogue; see VASARI, ed. LE MONNIER, viii. 273–274). The same composition, not by del Sarto, to whom it is assigned, is in the collection of the Duke

of Sutherland in London. Another, like that in Stafford House, minus the young Baptist, belongs to Sir William Miles, Bart., of Leigh Court

Florence. Galleria Ginori. Half-length of St. Sebastian holding a bundle of arrows, a little exaggerated in drawing and forms, and not quite certainly by Andrea, having more impasto than is usual to him (? see VASARI, v. 54). Wood, oil.[1]

Florence. Galleria Pianciatichi, No. 109. Bust of Baccio Valori (?), feeble and probably not original.[2]

Rome. Galleria Barberini, No. 54. The Virgin, leaning against a tree, holds the Child, who seems to have just turned away from the breast. Her face is the usual one of del Sarto; the Child large, and St. Joseph, to the left, of stern mien. Done by Andrea or under his supervision, about the time of the S. Salvi Supper, retouched, especially in the heads of the Virgin and Child. There is a study of the head of St. Joseph in the Munich Pinakothek (see *postea*), wood, oil, life-size. Two copies of the Barberini Madonna by other hands exist in the Madrid Museum (No. 335) and in the collection of the Duke of Westminster in London.[3]

Rome. Palazzo Spada. Visitation, portion of a predella, with six figures in lively movement, stamped with the impress of Andrea's manner, and certainly done in his atelier.

Rome. Galleria Borghese. There are no less than seven pieces claiming to be by del Sarto in this gallery, all of them by his pupils or imitators.

Rome. Palazzo Corsini, No. 580. Virgin and Child, dated 1509, reminding of Bugiardini (see *antea*).[4]

*[1] The passage in Vasari referred to by the authors is that in which he speaks of a half-length of St. Sebastian, painted by Andrea towards the end of his life for the Brotherhood of St. Sebastian at Florence. In his notes to Vasari, Bottari states that the original subsequently came to the Palazzo Pitti, but it has disappeared from there long ago. It is, of course, possible that the panel noted by the authors as being in the Palazzo Ginori is this very picture; it has not been seen by the editor. The composition of the Pitti picture is known from an engraving (reversed) by Cosimo Mogalli. Several versions of this composition are known: one formerly in the collection of Lord Methuen at Corsham Court (bought by the Rev. J. Sanford at Florence in 1831, and believed by him to be the original (see VASARI, v. 54, n. 2); another in the Cook collection at Richmond; a third in the Museo Civico of Verona (No. 75), etc.

*[2] Possibly identical with the portrait by Francia Bigio, now in the collection of Mr. R. H. Benson (*cf. antea*, p. 132), which, while in the Pianciatichi collection, was ascribed to Andrea del Sarto.

*[3] Other copies are in the collection of Sir Frederick Cook at Richmond, and in the Academy of Arts at Vienna (No. 304).

*[4] The authors do not refer to this picture under Bugiardini.

Naples. Museum, Sala XVI., No. 16. Portrait of Bramante (?), with one hand on a sheet of paper, the other grasping a pair of compasses. He shows a plan to a Duke of Urbino (?); named Andrea del Sarto, but a mixture of Pontormo and Bronzino, and of hard outlines and cold tone.[1]

Modena. Gallery. Virgin, Child, and St. Elizabeth, with the boy St. John, two angels attending, one of them with a flute. This Holy Family is not like that of the Pitti done for Ottaviano de' Medici (No. 81), nor is it the same as that of the National Gallery (No. 17). It is similar to one at the Imperial Gallery in Vienna (No. 43), under del Sarto's name, but really by Puligo. The repetition at Modena is not even by Puligo. Of eight other panels in this gallery attributed to del Sarto, it is needless to say more than that the nomenclature is false.

Turin. Museum, No. 125. The Virgin, seated, holds the Infant erect on her lap. He turns towards the young Baptist (wood, half life-size). Feeble in character as in colour, and of a glossy surface, yet laid in with a certain ease; a school copy repeating a part of a Holy Family at the Louvre (the St. Elizabeth excepted). A more modern repetition of this number, at Turin, is in the Museum at Leipzig; another at Windsor Castle.

Rovigo. Galleria Communale, No. 30. Virgin and Child, and infant Baptist, imitation of Andrea by a later painter.

Vienna. Imperial Gallery, No. 42. Archangel and Tobit attended by St. Lawrence, and to the right a kneeling donor; Christ with His cross in the sky (arched, wood, oil, figures under life-size). The colour is rich, pleasant, and *sfumato*. The Leonardesque smile is on every face. *No.* 43. The Virgin, kneeling, holds the Child; St. Elizabeth to the right, with the young Baptist, pointing to the sky. To the left two angels, one of whom plays a flute. This, which recalls Puligo, is taken from a Holy Family (No. 1,515) at the Louvre, in the same manner as one at the Munich Pinakothek (No. 1,066). The principal group is transferred to a panel at Windsor Castle, and to another at Lord Yarborough's, neither of which is original (see *postea*). *No.* 48. Portrait of a female, inscribed: "an. ætat. LXXII." (wood, oil, life-size). She is seated with a book in her hand, fine, but restored, of a low tone and apparently a late Pontormo. *No.* 46. Virgin and Child in a landscape, with St. Joseph, leaning on a sack (wood, oil, half life-size), is perhaps by Pontormo, its colour being of a reddish even tinge, the figures short and fat.[2] *No.* 52. The Virgin, kneeling, holds the

*[1] Now officially ascribed, though with a query, to Bronzino.

*[2] This picture is now, by general consent, given to Francia Bigio; it stands very near to the Madonna del Pozzo.

Infant Christ, who plays with the boy St. John. Distance, a landscape with ruins, a well, and little figures (wood, oil, figures life-size). This is either by Pontormo or by Rosso, imitating not so much del Sarto as Francia Bigio.

Vienna. Liechtenstein Gallery. Half-length of St. Sebastian (wood, oil, life-size, weak), by an imitator of del Sarto. Head of the Baptist on a plate (wood, oil, life-size), of the close of the sixteenth century.

Vienna. Harrach Gallery, formerly No. 178. Virgin, Child, Baptist, and St. Joseph (wood, oil), of the decline of the Florentine school. The head of the Virgin repainted. We forbear to weary the reader with other pieces of the same kind.

Berlin. Museum, Nos. 236 and 241. Incidents from the legend of St. Anthony of Padua (wood, oil, small), rather Umbrian than Florentine in stamp, and reminding of the brothers Zaganelli (Cotignola), particularly in respect of colour.[1]

Munich. Pinakothek, No. 1,071. Bust of St. Joseph, life-size, on paper (oil), same as at the Galleria Barberini, equally bold and characteristic, but extensively retouched. *No.* 1,066, wood, oil, copy, by a stranger to his school, of Andrea's Holy Family at the Louvre (No.1,515), a very feeble production, inferior to that in the Imperial Gallery at Vienna (No. 43). *No.* 1,072. The Virgin sitting on the ground, with the Infant Christ and young Baptist. Behind the latter two angels, a piece of a comparatively recent date, very unlike Andrea. *Nos.* 1,067, 1,068, 1,069, 1,070: Copies in monochrome from the Scalzo frescoes, without the genuine stamp of the master.

Schleissheim, No. 560. Named A. del Sarto, but not by him. Subject: the Virgin, Child, and young Baptist.[2]

Dresden. Museum, No. 76. Marriage of St. Catherine, under a conical daïs, the curtains of which art held up by angels. This is an example of Andrea imitating Fra Bartolommeo, very rich and *sfumato* in colour; the figures short and paltry (wood, oil). The monogram is on the border. *No.* 296. The Dead Christ on the lap of the Virgin, by an artist of the close of the sixteenth century.[3] *No.* 65. Holy Family, falsely inscribed "Andreas Sartus," by a Venetian of whom we shall have more to say at a later period. Much restored.[4]

*1 They may, indeed, confidently be ascribed to Francesco Zaganelli.

*2 Now labelled "Copy after Andrea del Sarto" (?).

*3 Now no longer ascribed to Andrea del Sarto.

*4 The inscription has now been removed. The picture is by Vincenzo Catena. See CROWE and CAVALCASELLE, *History of Painting in North Italy*, ed. BORENIUS, i. 261.

Brunswick. Gallery, formerly No. 423. Virgin, Child, and young St. John. Half life-size, canvas, oil; rough copy, much repainted. The same composition, not catalogued, poor, but better than this of Brunswick, is on a wall in the staircase leading to the secretary's office in the Hermitage of St. Petersburg.[1]

Stuttgart. Museum, No. 506. Small Holy Family. Imitation.[2] *No.* 450. So-called portrait of Galeazzo Campi, not by a Florentine, but by a Lombard, one should think.[3]

Madrid. Museum, No. 334. The Virgin raises her veil. The Child is erect on her lap. An archangel with a book crouches at the step of the Madonna's seat to the right. St. Joseph sitting on the ground to the left, a fine pyramidal composition in a landscape, in the distance of which St. Elizabeth leads the young Baptist (wood, oil). The monogram is at St. Joseph's feet. Though no longer transparent in shadows nor soft in outline, because of bad condition, this is still grand and plastic in the masses, with something in the drawing and colour that tells Pontormo was still in del Sarto's atelier. The subject in this form seems to have been prized. There is an injured school copy of it, done at one painting, and hard of colour, but with the monogram (wood, oil), in Dudley House. A second, likewise with the monogram, not so old in appearance as that of Dudley House, but of a more milky transparence, and by a clever imitator of del Sarto, is in the collection of Mr. Holford in London. A third, on canvas, of a later time, without signature, at Ince, near Liverpool (see *postea*). *No.* 337. Virgin and Child, all but life-size (wood, oil), quite in Andrea's character, but more exaggerated in forms and not quite up to his level in power. A feeble copy of this is in the Dulwich Gallery (*postea*). *No.* 335. Virgin, Child, and St. Joseph (wood, oil, under life-size), reduced from that of the Barberini Gallery in Rome (*antea*, p. 195), at one painting, perhaps by Salviati. There is, we have said, a repetition of the subject at Madrid in the collection of the Duke of Westminster (*postea*). *No.* 333. (wood, oil). Virgin, Child, two cherubs to the left, and to the right, in distance, St. Francis in ecstasy at an angel playing a fiddle. This seems taken by Puligo from an original now in the Wallace collection, in London, of which there is also an imitation at Longford Castle (*postea*). *No.* 339. Repetition of No. 333, also of the school.

*[1] The original of these copies, known as the Madonna del Fries, is now in the collection of Mr. Leopold de Rothschild in London.

*[2] Now labelled "Florentine School, sixteenth century."

*[3] This is a copy after the portrait of Galeazzo Campi by Giulio Campi, in the Palazzo Pitti (No. 224).

Paris. Louvre, No. 1,516 (round, wood, oil). Holy Family, with the monogram, and inscribed: "Andrea del Sarto Florentino facieatt." The Virgin kneels in profile, behind her St. Joseph. She holds the Infant Christ, whilst St. Elizabeth, in front of her, has St. John in her arms. This is so completely repainted that one cannot judge of its original condition. The composition, however, is reminiscent of Fra Bartolommeo. See for replicas, not original, one in Count Sergei Stroganoff's collection at St. Petersburg, and another belonging to the Earl of Portarlington (*postea*, p. 204). *No.* 1,515. Holy Family (wood, oil, life-size). The kneeling Virgin supporting the Infant Christ, who looks at St. Elizabeth, keeping back the boy Baptist. The latter points towards heaven. Two angels are behind the Virgin. Though, here, the fullest power of Andrea del Sarto is not exhibited, the panel seems to be the original of those at Vienna (No. 43, *antea*), at the Grosvenor Gallery (Duke of Westminster, *postea*) and at Ince (*postea*). *No.* 1,517. Annunciation, supposed to be a part of the predella, No. 77, at the Florence Academy of Arts, and a copy from Andrea's Annunciation at the Pitti, No. 163.

Montpellier. Musée Fabre, No. 728. Virgin and Child, and St. John in the distance, by a very tame imitator of del Sarto. *No.* 7. Sacrifice of Isaac, not in Andrea's manner.

Caen. Musée, No. 3. St. Sebastian. *No.* 4. St. Sebastian. These are not only not genuine, but it is doubtful whether they are of the Florentine school.

Nancy. Musée, No. 2. Arched, wood, oil. The angel and Tobit, recalling Andrea and Fra Bartolommeo, a careful thing, perhaps by Sogliani.

Brussels. Museum, No. 415. Jupiter and Leda, a poor school-piece (? Bacchiacca).

St. Petersburg. Hermitage, No. 24. Virgin and Child, St. Catherine to the right, St. Elizabeth with the young St. John to the left (wood, oil, figures under life-size), originally at the Malmaison, and inscribed: "Andrea del Sarto Florentino faciebat." This is a replica of a Holy Family at Windsor Castle. Its bloom has been removed by cleaning, and the restoration leaves doubts whether we have to deal here with Andrea or one of his scholars. *No.* 25. Wood, oil, but transferred to canvas. Bust of St. Barbara, life-size, retouched (? Bacchiacca).

St. Petersburg. Count Sergei Stroganoff. Round of the Holy Family. Copy of No. 1,516 at the Louvre, but older in date than a second copy (No. 26) at the Hermitage.

St. Petersburg. Collection of Princess Kotchoubey. Judith with the head of Holophernes (wood, with a border added all round, oil); an

imitation of del Sarto by Puligo. Also in this collection, a Holy Family. Virgin and Child between two angels, and the boy Baptist with the cross to the left of the Virgin. This is much in the style of the Judith, and reminds one of Puligo when he imitated Raphael and Fra Bartolommeo, but it is much repainted, the angel to the left completely so.

Copenhagen. Gallery of Christiansborg, No. 3.[1] Canvas. Portrait of a man in a black cap looking at the spectator over his left shoulder, much injured and so completely renewed as to permit of no certainty as to whether it is by del Sarto or his pupils.

London. National Gallery, No. 690. Life-size portrait of a man, looking over his left shoulder, a tablet in his hand; the monogram on the cool dark ground to the left. This is a very fine work touched with excessive ease and breadth. The warm lights are pleasantly tinged with rosy shades; the mass of chiaroscuro well defined. The right hand is barely sketched. *No.* 17. Holy Family, without the vigour of Andrea's own hand, and probably by one of his disciples; wood, oil, without brilliancy, and dimmed by old varnishes.

London. Wallace Collection, No. 9. Virgin with the Child standing on her lap; three children—one of them the Baptist—to the left, and St. Francis listening in ecstasy to the music of an angel in the distance, with the monogram on the upper left corner; beneath, an inscription as follows: "Andrea Del Sarto Florentino faciebat" (wood, oil, life-size). This is one of A. del Sarto's good productions, slightly injured by cleaning and retouching—*e.g.*, in the left wrist of the Virgin, and the shadows of her profile. See for copies, Madrid, No. 333 (*antea*), Longford Castle (*postea*).

London. Duke of Westminster, No. 173. Virgin, Child, and St. Joseph, not genuine, but feebly done after that of the Galleria Barberini, in Rome; like No. 335 at Madrid (*antea*). Portrait of the Countess Mattei, not by del Sarto, but reminiscent of Allori, or still better of Carlo Dolce (wood, oil). *No.* 88. St. John in the desert. *No.* 90. A Child with an orb (both wood, oil) are very different from works of our master. *No.* 81. Holy Family, a late repetition of No. 1,515 at the Louvre (*antea*). See also Ince (*postea*).

London. Stafford House, No. 46. Wood, oil, life-size. Virgin, Child, and Baptist, taken from an original of del Sarto, by Salviati, Nanaccio, or some other disciple of that class; masterly enough in handling, but of ruddy tone.[2]

*[1] Now at Kronborg Castle, near Copenhagen.

*[2] Not included in the Stafford House sale, July 11, 1913.

London. Baring Collection.[1] The Virgin, seated, with the Child on her lap, patting his chin. Below A. del Sarto's powers, pleasing, and probably by Puligo (wood, oil, half life-size), injured and restored. See for a replica, Alnwick (*postea*), and Hampton Court, No. 139, Portrait of a man (half-length, wood, oil, life-size). ? Puligo or Pontormo.

London. Mr. Farrer. Canvas, life-size. Pietà, after that of Vienna (Imperial Gallery, No. 39), by a follower of del Sarto.[2]

London. Mrs. Butler Johnstone. Pietà. Canvas, same as that of Mr. Farrer, careful and pleasing, but not done in the master's style or according to his habits.[3]

Panshanger. Seat of Earl Cowper.[4] Life-size portrait of a man in a cap, writing a letter at a table, supposed—erroneously, we think—to be del Sarto himself. The letter is legible, and runs so: " . . . Dicenbre. Mastro Domenico assai mi chãmo sod (disfat) to verso di voi, a vendo mostro propinquo ingenio per dimostrarmi qual proprio a . . . sono tanto molto obligato 1523 m. Andr." The person mentioned in these lines is perhaps Domenico Conti, the friend and pupil to whom Andrea bequeathed all his drawings (VASARI, v. 59),[5] whose likeness may be here depicted. The features are those of a man of thirty, too young for Andrea in 1523 (he was then aged thirty-six), and, besides, unlike his face as given in Vasari, and observed elsewhere. The painting is clearly del Sarto's, and finely touched.

Portrait of a female at a table, with a volume of Petrarch in her hand. On a building to the right are the words: " Meliora latent," and on the edge of the table: " In deo, tu presens nostro succurre labori." This is called the " Laura." It is a fine bright piece, done with great mastery in del Sarto's later years. The hands are long and of good breed, the neck delicate, the forehead fair, the eyes grey. The rosy half-tints are well fused into delicate shadows. The hair chestnut wood, (oil, life-size).

Portrait of a man in rustic dress, with his right hand in the bosom of

*1 Now collection of the Earl of Northbrook.

*2 Bought at the Farrer sale in 1866 by Mr. Boord, and at the Boord sale in 1876 by Messrs. Agnew.

*3 Subsequently in the collections of Mr. Munro, of Novar, the Earl of Dudley, Mr. J. Ruston, and Sir W. Farrer; bought at the Farrer sale, March 23, 1912, by Mr. Clements.

*4 Now the property of Lady Desborough.

*5 On the drawings by Andrea del Sarto, compare BERENSON, *The Drawings of the Florentine Painters*, i. 268 *sqq.*, and ii. 4 *sqq.*

his vest, smiling, a very fine work in perfect preservation, genuine and masterly, very bold in the handling, full of gaiety and transparence in tone.

Bust of a man (round, wood, oil, life-size), holding a sheet of paper in his right hand; pleasing, assigned to del Sarto, but probably by Puligo.

Piece of a predella. Scene from the life of Joseph. He sits as a judge whilst Benjamin is brought before him. The brethren kneel or stand in front imploring. Nothing can be more animated than this composition, more energetic and lively than the attitudes, more perfect and airy than the colour. It is the quick and able production of a pencil in the full consciousness of its strength.

Two other stories from the life of St. Joseph are here: (1) The baker taken out to execution, and the butler with Joseph. (2) The sale of Joseph to Potiphar. Of these panels the colour is reddish and low. The drawing is mannered, the proportions are faulty, and the attitudes affected. All this points to Pontormo.

Tunbridge Wells (near). Hon. P. Ashburnham. Charity, with two children at her breast, and one asleep at her feet (canvas, life-size). This subject was done by Andrea for G. B. della Palla (VASARI, v. 51). Here is a shield with two red lions on a yellow field, and above it a crown of five points (? more modern than the picture). The execution is much below that of Andrea, the drawing is incorrect, the colour weak and washy. It is likely that a pupil worked this up from del Sarto's original; possible that it had been left unfinished at his death, and was completed by another. (This picture was sold with the rest of the Ashburnham collection in 1860. It was formerly in the Ottley collection, and was sold at the Ashburnham sale to Mr. Wellson for £525.)

Hamilton Palace, near Glasgow. State Drawing-Room.[1] Half-length, life-size (wood, oil), of a Magdalen, not by del Sarto, but more truly a slovenly thing by Bacchiacca.

Dalkeith Palace. Seat of the Duke of Buccleuch. Dispute of the Trinity. SS. Catherine, Francis, and Dominic, Lawrence, Augustine and Sebastian (canvas, life-size), inscribed: "And. Sar. Flo. Fac."; a diligent copy, perhaps by Allori, of Andrea's picture at the Pitti, and of his signature (No. 172).

Longford Castle. Seat of Lord Radnor. Holy Family, almost a copy (? by Puligo) of that in the Wallace Collection (*antea*, p. 200); very feeble (wood, life-size).

Alnwick. Seat of the Duke of Northumberland. Virgin and Child, properly called Pontormo; a replica of that in the Baring Gallery.

*[1] Subsequently in the possession of Mr. Charles Butler, and bought at the Butler sale (May 25, 1911, No. 79) by Messrs. Sulley.

Windsor Castle. Virgin, Child, and infant Baptist (wood, oil, life-size; see *antea*, Turin, and *postea*, Lord Yarborough. This seems an old imitation, (?) by Puligo. Portrait of a female, three-quarters to the right, of olive tone, opaque, and dark in shadows, freely done by Nanaccio or Salviati. Virgin, Child, St. Elizabeth, and young Baptist, and on the right St. Catherine, inscribed on the wheel: "Andrea Del Sarto Florentino faciebat." This is a composition similar to that of the National Gallery (No. 17), with the addition of the St. Catherine, and a replica of No. 24 at the Hermitage of St. Petersburg; a careful but tame imitation of Andrea, by a comparatively modern painter.

London. Lord Yarborough. Virgin, Child, and young Baptist (wood, oil, all but life-size); copy of that in Windsor Castle, to which it is inferior.

Dulwich Gallery, No. 251. Virgin and Child, St. Joseph, St. Elizabeth, and the boy Baptist (wood, oil, life-size). This looks like a repetition by Salviati of No. 81 at the Pitti, St. Joseph being added. The latter figure, at Dulwich, is of a different character from the rest of the picture, in movement, drawing, and features. The colour is oily and without brightness. *No.* 228. Virgin, Child, and Baptist (wood, oil, life-size), a copy of No. 337 at Madrid, with the Baptist added, much lower in the scale of art than the Holy Family, No. 251.

London. Holford Collection. Virgin, Child, St. Joseph, and an angel (wood, oil, life-size), with the monogram, a school copy of No. 334 at Madrid. See also Dudley House.

Leigh Court. Sir W. Miles, Bart. Virgin and Child, of heavy shape, and dull yellowish colour, but freely handled, similar to one at Stafford House in which a St. John accompanies the other figures, and by the same hand—*i.e.*, Salviati or Sguazella.[1]

London. Hon. C. C. Cavendish. St. John, exhibited at the British Institution in 1856. Of the school.

London. Hon. W. Warren Vernon. No. 110 at Manchester. Holy Family, with St. Elizabeth, and the small Baptist, copy from Andrea by a pupil.

London. Sir Humphrey de Trafford. No. 111 at Manchester. Holy Family. School piece.

Hampton Court, No. 139. Virgin and Child, like those of the Baring and Alnwick collections, and an old copy of the former.

*[1] Sold at the sale of the Leigh Court Gallery (June 28, 1884, No. 64) to Mr. Dyer; subsequently in the possession of Mr. L. Lesser, and sold at the Lesser sale (February 10, 1912, No. 50) to Mr. Cohen.

Dublin. National Gallery, No. 103. The Virgin, with the dead body of Christ on her lap, between St. Peter and a female saint. Predella in three parts, not to be assigned with certainty to A. del Sarto, being mannered in drawing and form, and too variegated in colour.[1] *No.* 112. Adoration of the Magi (small, wood, oil), by some of the followers of Andrea.

Dublin. Earl of Portarlington. No. 8 at the International Exhibition. Holy Family. Round (since squared). Wood, oil. Copy of No. 1,516 at the Louvre, by a modern.

*[1] Four panels, originally parts of the same predella, and each containing the figure of a saint, were added to the Dublin Gallery in 1865. Two more parts of it are now in the collection of the Earl of Warwick. The predella originally belonged to the Menichini family of Perugia (see catalogue of the Dublin Gallery).

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